

SPEECHES

5

DELIVERED AT THE

ANTI-COLONIZATION MEETING,

IN

EXETER HALL, LONDON,

JULY 13, 1833,

BY

JAMES CROPPER, ESQ., WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, REV. NATHANIEL PAUL,
DANIEL O'CONNELL, ESQ. M. P., MR. BUCKINGHAM, M. P., MR. HUNT,
REV. MR. ABRAHAM, GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ. &c. &c.

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P R E F A C E .

The following speeches which were delivered at the great meeting held in Exeter Hall, London, and which have caused so much excitement among the colonization crusaders, and their backers the mobocracy, were all taken down by a skilful and accomplished reporter, expressly for publication in this country. So far from being ashamed of my language on that memorable occasion, I gave *eighty dollars* for a full report of all that was then uttered by myself and others, in order that I might faithfully present it to the public on my return. I wish neither to modify nor retract a single sentence. To that fearless and eloquent champion of liberty,—that first of Irish patriots,—DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq., the colored population of this country and their advocates are under heavy obligations for his masterly vindication of their cause, his terrible castigation of American slavery, and his withering satire upon the colonization 'lumbbug' at this meeting.

Now let the enemies of freedom foam and rage!—But the secret of their malice lies in the triumphant success of my mission. Had I failed to vanquish the agent of the American Colonization Society, or to open the eyes of British philanthropists to its naked deformity, there would have been no excitement on my return. These sensitive republicans, who are so jealous of the reputation of their country, be it remembered, are the most sturdy upholders of the slave system, and the most ardent sticklers for the banishment of our free colored population to the African coast. They esteem it no disgrace to debase, lacerate, plunder and kidnap two millions of slaves, and tread upon the necks of half a million free colored citizens; but it is foul slander, in their impartial judgment, to declare before a British audience that such conduct is in the highest degree hypocritical and tyrannical. But their iniquity is not done in a corner, nor can it be hid under a bushel. 'Where there is shame, there may in time be virtue.' I have already crimsoned their cheeks with the bitter consciousness of their guilt; and through their shame I will never despair of seeing them brought to repentance. It is idle for them to bluster and threaten—they will find out, by and by, that I am storm-proof.

If I had outraged common sense and common decency, by throwing all the guilt of our oppression upon the British government; if I had dealt in the wretched cant, that slavery was an evil entailed upon us by the mother country; if I had been as dishonest, as hypocritical, and as pusillanimous as the agent of the American Colonization Society; if I had extolled that kind of philanthropy which calls for the banishment of every man, woman and child, whose skin is 'not colored like my own'; if I had asserted that the stealers of human beings in the southern States were kind, liberal and paternal in their treatment of their victims, and anxious to abolish slavery;—in short, if I had sacrificed conscience, honesty and truth upon the altar of falsehood and prejudice; why, then the reputation of the United States would have been pure and spotless in the eyes of the English nation, and I should have received the applause, instead of the malediction of a senseless mob! But I was neither knave nor fool enough to do any such thing. I spoke the truth, in the love of the truth—the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. I freely acknowledged the guilt, the awful guilt of this boasted land of liberty, in holding one sixth part of its immense population in servile chains; and besought the sympathy of the friends of bleeding humanity in England, in behalf of our afflicted slaves. Nor did I fail to tear the mask from the brow of the American Colonization Society, so that it might be feared and loathed as a monster of cruelty, violence and blood. For this cause the wicked have drawn out the sword, and have bent their bow, to cast down the poor and needy; and to slay such as be of upright conversation. Their sword shall enter into their own heart, and their bow shall be broken.'

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

Boston, November, 1833.

MEETING IN EXETER HALL,

L O N D O N.

A public meeting was held at Exeter Hall, Strand, on Saturday, July 13, 1833, for the purpose of exposing the real character and objects of the American Colonization Society. JAMES CROPPER, Esq. in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN commenced the business by remarking:—

The object of the present meeting is to give an exposition of the real character and design of the American Colonization Society. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, the representative of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, will address the meeting, and furnish it with information on the subject. He is a man very highly recommended and esteemed by the respectable part of the community in his own country, and is devoting the whole of his time to the great object of effecting the emancipation of the American slaves.

It is probably well known to the majority of the meeting, that an agent of the American Colonization Society has been collecting money in this country, which money he has obtained by declaring that its great object was THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY—the ultimate extinction of Slavery in the United States, and the civilization of Africa.

Now, notwithstanding these misrepresentations have been exposed, within a very short period, a meeting has been held by this individual, in which he has had the countenance of one of the blood royal; and it therefore becomes necessary to take a more public method of exposing the fallacy of his statements.

The American Colonization Society was avowedly established with the single object of colonizing the free people of color in Africa, or such other place as Congress might direct. It is, therefore, not confined in sending them to Africa, in order that they may civilize those regions; (and with their own consent, as it proposed to do,) but, on the contrary, they are to be sent to such other place as Congress may direct. Nor is its object the abolition of slavery; for Mr. Randolph, in a speech which he delivered at its formation, said—‘So far from being connected with the abolition of slavery, it would prove one of the greatest securities to enable the master to keep in possession his own property.’

Now, those who are acquainted with the nature of slavery, know that it can exist only where men are scarce, and where land is plen-

tiful. As the population of any country multiplies, it will be utterly impossible to continue slavery. It is not necessary for me to state here, that, in this country, even if the law permitted it, slavery could not exist. We know that in many cases, parishes in this country are paying considerable sums, in order to send away the population. Now, if the people are of no saleable value, but, on the contrary, the country will give sums of money to get quit of them, slavery cannot exist. An increase of slave population, or any article of general consumption, will lessen its value; and in the case of slaves, it will depreciate them till they are worth nothing.

It was, therefore, in the contemplation of the arrival of this state of things in America, that the slave-owners there became alarmed. They saw the rapid increase of the American slave population; they saw that in South America, the same circumstance was producing the effect which the beneficent Creator intended it should—namely, that it should bring slavery to its natural death; and they perceived that a similar result would be brought about in North America. But to prevent the beneficent ordination of Heaven from taking effect, (and which some of the speakers connected with the Colonization Society, have called ‘a deplorable catastrophe,’) to prevent the emancipation of the slaves, and their consequent incorporation with the general body of the community, the impious contrivers of the Colonization scheme had brought their plans into operation, and, in the language of one of the Society’s distinguished supporters, they have ‘opened a drain to take off the excess of increase beyond the occasion of profitable employment.’ What can this language mean? To take from a country a hundredth part of its population, because they cannot find them profitable employment, would be perfectly ridiculous. It is quite true, that they cannot find profitable employment for their slaves; but it is equally true, that if they were increased a hundred fold, they would find profitable employment for themselves as free men.

It is known to most persons present, that the enactments against emancipation, and against every sort of instruction and improvement of the slaves, are more severe in the United States than in any other country whatever. And what, I would ask, has the Ameri-

can Colonization Society done to remove these laws? Nothing, *nothing* whatever! To talk about civilizing Africa, *while they do not attempt to improve the condition of the slaves at home*, is a perfect absurdity. If they had ever intended to effect the emancipation of the slaves, they would have led the way by preparing them for the enjoyment of freedom.

In Louisiana, the punishment of death is annexed to the attempt to instruct and improve the slave population. (Hear, hear.) Are these the people, who are looking to emancipation as their ultimate object? Far from it!

Let us see the effect which the Society has produced. In the year 1790, there were 59,000 free blacks in America. Emancipation was then going on with considerable rapidity, and feelings were cherished then, similar to those entertained in South America, and various other places; so that in 1810, the number had augmented to 186,000. Had emancipation got on in the same ratio, the ensuing 20 years, there ought to have been 584,000 free blacks; but when the census of 1830 was made up, we found the number to be only 319,000; and, consequently, owing to some change of feeling in America, there are 265,000 negroes now left in slavery, who would otherwise have been set free. Now it is a singular fact, that during the last 20 years, the American Colonization Society has been in operation.

So far from the Society having endeavored to remove the prejudice which exists against the free people of color, it has done every thing it could to strengthen it; for it has said that nothing could cure it—that even religion itself could not overcome it. We may therefore reasonably say, that instead of its pursuing the objects it is represented to have in view,—instead of its seeking the abolition of slavery,—it has been a very important means of holding 265,000 of our fellow beings in bondage, who might otherwise have been free.

The Chairman concluded by reading the following letter from THOMAS FOWELL BUNTON, Esq. to Mr. GARRISON, apologizing for his absence:

54, DEVONSHIRE-STREET, July 12, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—I must trouble you with a line to excuse my non-appearance at the meeting to-morrow. The fact is, critical as has been the state of our great question often before, perhaps never was it so critical as now. My mind is intensely occupied, and every moment of my time so full, that I should be sacrificing my duty to this paramount object if I allowed anything else, however pressing and interesting, to divert me from it at this, the crisis of its fate. But you know my complete inactivity in the objects of your meeting, to which I most cordially wish all success. My views of the Colonization Society you are aware of. They do not fall far short of those expressed by my friend Mr. Cropper, when he termed its objects *diabolical*. Nor will you doubt my concurrence in the efforts of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, or any *Anti-Slavery* Society in the world.

Wishing you, therefore, all success, and entreating you to tell your countrymen, on your return, that we in England are all for the *Anti-Slavery*, not for the *Colonization* people, I am, my dear sir, with real esteem,
Yours respectfully, T. F. BUNTON.

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. in announcing Mr. GARRISON to the meeting, said—Will you permit me to say that Mr. GARRISON is the accredited Agent of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, an infant association formed for the entire extinction of slavery throughout the United States? He is a delegate from that Society to England, for the purpose of holding communication with the leading abolitionists of our own country. It is hoped that when we have witnessed the extinction of the last figment of slavery in our own Colonies, England will not be reluctant in co-operating with the inhabitants of America in promoting the great cause of universal emancipation.

Mr. GARRISON then stood forward, and was received with loud applause. He spoke as follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN—It is long since I sacrificed all my national, complexional and local prejudices upon the altar of Christian love, and, breaking down the narrow boundaries of a selfish patriotism, inscribed upon my banner this motto:—*My country is the world; my countrymen are all mankind*. (Cheers.) It is true, in a geographical sense, I am now in a foreign territory; but still it is a part of my country. I am in the midst of strangers; but still surrounded by my countrymen. There must be limits to civil governments and national domains. There must be names to distinguish the natural divisions of the earth, and the dwellers thereon. There must be varieties in the form, color, stature, and condition of mankind. All these may exist, not only without injury, but with the highest possible advantage. But whenever they are made the boundaries of human disinterestedness, friendship, sympathy, honor, patriotism and love, they are as execrable and destructive, as, otherwise, they are beautiful and preservative.

Nowhere, I am certain, will a more united response be given to these sentiments, than in this Hall, and by those who are assembled on the present occasion. (Hear.) What exclamation have you put into the mouth of the African captive, kneeling in his chains with his face turned imploringly heavenward? It is this—the most touching, the most irresistible: ‘AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER?’ Yes! though black as murky night—though born on a distant shore—though degraded, miserable and enslaved—though ranked among the beasts of the field—still, ‘A MAN AND A BROTHER!’ (Cheers.) Noblest device of humanity!—Wherever, in all time, a human being pines in personal thralldom, the tones of that talismanic appeal uttered by him shall be swiftly borne by the winds of heaven over the whole earth, and stir up the humane, the brave, the honorable, the good, for his rescue: for the strife of freedom is no longer local, but blows are now struck for the redemption of the world. And glorious is the prospect before us. Wherever we turn our eyes, we see the earth quaking, and hear thun-

ders uttering their voices. The GENIUS OF EMANCIPATION is visible in every clime, and at its trumpet-call the dead slaves of all nations are starting into life, shaking off the dust of the tomb, and presenting an immortal beauty through the power of a mighty resurrection. (Applause.)

Sir, I have crossed the Atlantic on an errand of mercy, to plead for perishing millions, and to discharge, in behalf of the abolitionists of the United States, a high moral obligation which is due to the British public. It would neither be modest nor proper for me, on this occasion, to make a parade of the sacrifices of time, of money, of health, or of labor, I have made—nor of the perils I have risked, or the persecution encountered, or the sufferings endured, since I first stood forth as the advocate of my enslaved countrymen,—not to banish them from their native land, nor to contend for their emancipation by a slow, imperceptible process, ‘half way between *now* and *never*,’—but to demand their instant emancipation, and their recognition as brethren and countrymen. (Cheers.) I shall make no such lachrymal display of my losses and crosses in this holy cause; although, perhaps, I could give as long a list, and summon as many witnesses, and present as strong claims upon your sympathy and regard, as the agent of the American negro shippers in this country; for I know that in all things I come short, and I pour contempt upon all that I have endured for righteousness’ sake. Whatever may have been the trials and dangers experienced by that agent, they are such only as attend a *popular* cause. His friends and supporters in the United States are as numerous as the oppressors and despisers of the colored population—constituting the great, the wealthy, the powerful, as well as the inferior classes. When he shall have stood forth, almost single-handed, for a series of years, against and in the midst of a nation of oppressors, and been branded with every epithet that malice could invent or ingenuity apply, and incarcerated in the cell of a prison, and had large rewards offered for his destruction by private combinations and legislative bodies, for his advocacy of the cause of negro emancipation; he may then, I think you will all agree, with far greater propriety urge his claims upon your sympathy, than while he is receiving the pulis and compliments of a great and popular party in his own country. I cherish not the least personal animosity toward that gentleman. I am sure that I can heartily forgive him as often as he wrongs me.

Sorry am I for his own sake—sorry for the sake of the cause of truth—that the health of Mr. Cresson, according to his own statement, disqualifies him from meeting me in a public discussion of the principles and operations of his darling scheme, although it enables him to hold *ex parte* meetings in favor of that scheme, *ad libitum*; nay, more—he can even take the

lead publicly in the formation of a British Colonization Society, and make a long speech, (although it is declared that it has no connexion with the American Colonization Society,) at the very moment he assigns his utter physical inability as a reason why he cannot hold a discussion with me, or with my gifted and eloquent friend, George Thompson, Esq. (Hear, hear!) He has my best wishes for the complete restoration of his health.

Mr. Cresson says he deprecates an angry discussion. So do I. Whichever of the disputants loses his temper, he will certainly be the sufferer. He has not been called by me to an angry discussion, but to a candid, magnanimous and calm discussion.

Mr. Cresson is constantly descending, in the most lugubrious and pathetic manner, both publicly and privately, respecting the persecution and abuse which he has received in almost every part of England. In one of his speeches at Edinburgh, he declared that ‘when he should be restored to his own country, he should reflect that in Scotland he found kindness, and in Scotland *only*.’ And is this, Mr. Chairman, his return for the kind hospitality and the liberal assistance which have been extended to him by the people of England? Having fed at their tables, secured their confidence, and obtained their money, is the end of his career to be marked by the addition of insult to injury? (Hear!) He has published to the world the invidious charge that ‘in Scotland *only*,’ has he found kindness; but dare he venture again into Scotland? Is he willing to return to Edinburgh, and once more test the kindness of its enlightened inhabitants? I make him an offer—I will go with him to that beautiful city, and, although he has the advantage over me by a pre-occupancy of the ground, if in one week I do not secure ten supporters to his one, I will instantly leave this country. But no—he will not return: his *health*, if no other cause, will keep him in exile from his Edinburgh friends!

Sir, who are Elliott Cresson’s persecutors? Against whom has he brought the charge of bearing malice in their hearts toward him? Sure I am that the mention of their names will excite the smiles of this assembly. Excite their *smiles*, did I say? Let me rather say, their strongest indignation! He who has given the noblest proofs of his devotion to the cause of negro emancipation—whose time, and talents, and wealth, are all consecrated to the destruction of slavery—who is conferring upon this meeting the honor of presiding as chairman—JAMES CROPPER is one of Mr. Cresson’s persecutors! (Cheers.) And who does Mr. Cresson next brand with the epithet *persecutor*? That most eminent and most venerable philanthropist, whose merits transcend the language of eulogy—ZACHARY MACAULAY is a persecutor! Whose name comes next on his criminal calendar? A name that cannot die—a

name around which cluster the best associations of philanthropy and true greatness—THOMAS POWELL BUXTON! And Mr. Cresson, on the principles which govern his conduct, may now rank among his persecutors another noble spirit, whose fame is as widely diffused as the air of heaven,—WILLIAM WILBERFORCE; for he regards the doctrines and operations of the American Colonization Society as corrupt, proscriptive and disastrous. (Cheers.) I had a long and delightful interview with him, a few days since, at Bath; and he assured me that, although from the glowing representations which had been made to him respecting the flourishing condition of Liberia, he had been led to express his gratification at its success; yet he repeatedly told Mr. Cresson that he could hold no fellowship with that unchristian principle of the American Colonization Society which seemed to be a fundamental one—namely, that the whites and blacks could never live on terms of amity and equality in the United States.

I hold in my hand a paper, containing some queries which were dictated by Mr. WILBERFORCE, and taken down by his son in my presence, to which he wishes distinct replies. These I will read, by your permission:

‘1. How far has Mr. Elliott Cresson made use of Mr. Wilberforce’s name? Has he merely stated that Mr. Wilberforce approved of the *colony* as calculated to benefit *Africa*; or has he said that Mr. Wilberforce approves of the *principle* of the Society—namely, that the blacks ought to be removed for the advantage of *America*, as well as for their own?’

2. Did Mr. Cresson (aware that it must be considered as the fundamental principle of the American Colonization Society, that there is a difficulty, amounting to a moral impossibility, in the blacks and whites living together in prosperity and harmony, as members of the same free community) make it clear to those to whom he professed to state Mr. Wilberforce’s sentiments, that the two classes MIGHT AND OUGHT TO LIVE TOGETHER, as one mutually connected and happy society?

3. Has Mr. Elliott Cresson made it publicly known in England, that the American Colonization Society has declared that it considers that *colonization* ought to be a *sine qua non* of *emancipation*?’

Let Mr. Cresson answer these questions. In reply to the two last, I will venture to assert that he has never made it publicly known, either that Mr. WILBERFORCE maintained that the whites and blacks might and ought to live together as one mutually connected and happy society, or that the American Colonization Society has declared that it considers that *colonization* ought to be a *sine qua non* of *emancipation*; and, consequently, that he has, in those two instances, if in no others, grossly deceived the British public. In the United States, Mr. WILBERFORCE is constantly quoted as the supporter of the American Colonization Society.

There yet remains another champion of the negro race, who though named the last is not the least, and whom, I have the strongest faith to believe, Mr. Cresson may very shortly rank

among his persecutors—I allude to THOMAS CLARKSON. (Hear, hear.) It is true, this venerable philanthropist has expressed his approbation of the American Colonization Society. Why has he done so? Recollect that he is now totally blind, and hence he is compelled to take many things upon trust. That Mr. Cresson has imposed upon his generous confidence is evident from these two facts:—The American Colonization Society (as I shall show before I close my remarks) has from its organization disclaimed any intention of seeking emancipation, either directly or indirectly—either immediate or gradual. And yet the excellent CLARKSON, in his letter of December 1st, 1831, addressed to Mr. Cresson, makes this declaration:

‘This Society seems to me to have two objects in view—first, TO ASSIST IN THE EMANCIPATION OF ALL THE SLAVES NOW IN THE UNITED STATES; and, secondly, by sending *these* to Africa, to do away the slave trade, and promote civilization among the natives there.’

But the deception ends not here. The Secretary of the American Colonization Society copied a large portion of Mr. CLARKSON’s letter into its organ, the African Repository; but, instead of giving Mr. CLARKSON’s own words as to his views of the objects of the Society, he makes an entirely new version of Mr. CLARKSON’s language—thus:

‘He [CLARKSON] considers the object of the Society twofold; first, TO PROMOTE THE VOLUNTARY EMIGRATION TO AFRICA OF THE COLORED POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES; and second, the suppression of the slave trade, and the civilization of the African tribes.’—African Repository for November, 1832.

Here, then, is palpably a double fraud—first, on the part of Mr. Cresson, and next on the part of the Secretary of the American Colonization Society. The motive for garbling Mr. CLARKSON’s letter in the United States, was unquestionably to prevent an impression in the slaveholding States that the Society was designed to promote the abolition of slavery. I will only add that the detection of this fraud has created the utmost indignation in the United States, and lost the Society many of its supporters.

Mr. Chairman, I will not stop to dwell upon the singular modesty and good sense of an individual who converts the well grounded opposition of great and good men to the principles and operations of the American Colonization Society, into a persecution of his own person. Mr. Cresson is a respectable gentleman, but he vastly overrates his own dignity and importance, in supposing that he is an object of persecution.

Sir, we will lose sight of that gentleman, and come directly to the object of this meeting, viz. a delineation of American slavery and the American Colonization.

I cherish as strong a love for the land of my nativity as any man living. I am proud of her

civil, political and religious institutions—of her high advancement in science, literature and the arts—of her general prosperity and grandeur. But I have some solemn accusations to bring against her.

I accuse her of insulting the majesty of heaven with the grossest mockery that was ever exhibited to man—inasmuch as, professing to be the land of the free and the asylum of the oppressed, she falsifies every profession, and shamelessly plays the tyrant.

I accuse her, before all nations, of giving an open, deliberate and base denial to her boasted Declaration, that 'all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

I accuse her of disfranchising and proscribing nearly half a million free people of color, acknowledging them not as countrymen, and scarcely as rational beings, and seeking to drag them thousands of miles across the ocean on a plea of benevolence, when they ought to enjoy all the rights, privileges and immunities of American citizens.

I accuse her of suffering a large portion of her population to be lacerated, starved and plundered, without law and without justification, at the will of petty tyrants.

I accuse her of trafficking in the bodies and souls of men, in a domestic way, to an extent nearly equal to the foreign slave trade; which traffic is equally atrocious with the foreign, and almost as cruel in its operations.

I accuse her of legalizing, on an enormous scale, licentiousness, fraud, cruelty and murder.

I accuse her of the horrid crime of kidnapping one hundred thousand infants annually, the offspring of slave parents.

I accuse her of stealing the liberties of two millions of the creatures of God, and withholding the just recompense of their labor; of ruthlessly invading the holiest relations of life, and cruelly separating the dearest ties of nature; of denying these miserable victims necessary food and clothing for their perishable bodies, and light and knowledge for their immortal souls; of tearing the husband from his wife, the mother from her babe, and children from their parents, and of perpetrating upon the poor and needy every species of outrage and oppression.

And, finally, I accuse her of being callously indifferent to the accumulated and accumulating wrongs and sufferings of her black population, assiduous in extenuating her oppressive acts, and determined to slumber upon the brink of a volcano which is in full operation, and which threatens to roll its lava tide over the whole land.

These are my allegations. And what is the defence which she puts forth? It is even as one has said, who never speaks upon the subject of liberty but he 'showers words of

weight and fire!'—I mean the distinguished and eloquent O'CONNELL. (Cheers.) In one of his speeches, he thus alludes to the miserable defence of the United States for their robberies and crimes:

'I come now to America, the boasted land of freedom, and here I find the slavery which they not only tolerate but extend, justified and defended as a legacy left them by us!—It is too true. But I would say unto them—'You threw off the allegiance you owed us because you thought we were oppressing you with the Stamp Act. You boasted of your deliverance from slavery. On what principle, then, do you continue to hold your fellow men in bondage, and render that bondage even more galling by ringing in the ears of the sufferers from your tyranny, what *you* have done, what *you* have suffered for freedom?' They may reply by referring to the slavery we have established and encouraged. But what would he thought of that man who should attempt to justify the crime of sheep-stealing, by alleging that another stole sheep too? Would such a defence be listened to? O, no! And I will say unto you, freemen of America—and the press will convey it to you almost as swift as the winds—that God understands you; that you are hypocrites, tyrants, and unjust men; that you are degraded and dishonoured;—and I say unto you, dare not to stand up boasting of your liberties and your privileges, while you continue to treat men, redeemed by the same blood, as the mere creatures of your will; for while you do so, there is a stain upon your national escutcheon which all the waters of the Atlantic cannot wash out.' * * * 'Of all men living, an American citizen who is the owner of slaves is the most despicable: he is a political hypocrite of the very worst description.' * * * 'The friends of humanity and liberty in Europe should join in one universal cry of *Shame on the American slaveholders!* Base wretches, should we shout in chorus—base wretches, how dare you profane the temple of national freedom, the sacred fane of republican rites, with the presence and the sufferings of human beings in chains and slavery!' (Cheers.)

Sir, never was a more just and fearless rebuke given to a guilty nation. 'Faithful are the wounds of a friend,' and 'open rebuke is better than secret love.' Whatever responsibility may attach to Great Britain for the introduction of slavery into the United States, (and to talk of robbery and kidnapping as things that may be entailed is precious absurdity,) the first moment the people of the United States published their Declaration of Independence to the world, from that moment they became exclusively accountable for the existence and continuance of negro slavery. The capital stock of slaves, at that period, was about 400,000. It has been traded upon until it now numbers about 2,200,000—an increase of more than five fold! And yet America has the brazen assurance to declare that England alone is answerable for the servitude and destruction of this immense multitude. I blush to publish the story.

The American Union originally consisted of thirteen States—it has at the present time twenty-four States, twelve of which are free States, and twelve slaveholding States. Slavery, therefore, is consolidated in the southern portion of the country. The laws which are now in force, for the subjection of the slave

population, are unparalleled for their brutality. Draco's bloody code was as white as snow in comparison. Even the West Indian enactments are less despotic. But, as in the case of the Israelites in Egypt, the more our slaves are afflicted, the more they multiply and grow. Their increase is more rapid than even that of our white population; and in half of the slave States, the soil is so completely exhausted, and the market is so glutted, that slave labor is almost wholly worthless, and the planters are enabled to support themselves only by breeding slaves for sale in the extreme southern markets. Early alarmed at the frightful increase of the slave population, and at their great depreciation in value, the planters adopted the language and policy of Pharaoh:—and they said one unto another, 'Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we. Come on, let us deal wisely with them; lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us. Therefore they did set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens.' The Egyptian Pharaoh, finding to his astonishment that his excessive cruelty produced an opposite effect from that which was intended, resorted to another expedient. He charged the Hebrew midwives, and all his people, saying, 'Every son that is born of the Hebrew women ye shall cast into the river, and every daughter ye shall save alive.' The American Pharaohs, equally surprised at the prolific result of their cruelty, but more ingenious than their prototype, interrogated each other in the language of Mr. Archer of Virginia, as published in the 15th Annual Report of the American Colonization Society:

'What course or remedy remained? Was open butchery to be resorted to, as among the Spartans with the Helots? Or general emancipation and incorporation, as in South America? Or abandonment of the country by the masters, as must come to be the case in the West Indies? Either of these was a deplorable catastrophe. Could all of them be avoided, and if they could, how? There was but one way, but that might be made effectual, fortunately! It was to *provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase beyond the occasions of profitable employment!* This might be done effectually by extension of the plan of the Society. The drain was already opened. All that was necessary would be, to provide for the enlargement of the channel, as occasion might demand.'

We now come to the origin of the American Colonization Society. The motives, it seems, for its organization, were:—1st. To prevent a general emancipation and incorporation of the blacks with the whites—2d. To render unnecessary the abandonment of the country by the masters—3d. To render the slave system secure and lucrative—and lastly, To remove from the country 'those mirrors which reflect the light of liberty into the dark bosoms of the slaves'—namely, the free people of color.

Whence did the scheme of the American Colonization Society originate? Brings it

'airs from heaven, or blasts from hell?' Are its intents 'wicked or charitable?' It is a creature that was born in secrecy and in darkness, in the Legislature of Virginia—a State which holds nearly half a million of human beings in slavery—the Jamaica of the United States; and that Legislature, in its *benevolence* toward the free colored and slave population, has ever since been enacting the most atrocious laws for the utter expulsion of the one, and the oppression of the other class. *It is the foulest conspiracy in the history of the world.**

Now, Mr. Chairman, having seen that the monster was conceived in sin, and shapen in iniquity, let us briefly enquire where and by whom was the American Colonization Society instituted, and who are its Managers.

It was formed at the close of the year 1816, in Washington city, and is principally managed by the plunderers and oppressors of their fellow men. Not a slave, since its organization, has been emancipated by any of its managers, and sent to Liberia. At the first annual meeting of the Society, General Mercer of Virginia, one of its Vice Presidents, said,—'Many thousand individuals in our native State, you well know, Mr. President, are restrained from manumitting their slaves, *as you and I are*, by the melancholy conviction that they *cannot yield to the suggestions of humanity*, without manifest injury to their country'!! So! the claims of humanity and the true interests of the country are at war, and the latter are to be pursued to the destruction of the former!—Now, mark the conduct of this canting dissembler and hardened oppressor!—More than fifteen years have elapsed since that speech was made, and yet none of Gen. Mercer's slaves have been manumitted, although opportunities have been constantly given to him to send them to Liberia, and have them changed into first rate missionaries in the twinkling of an eye!—And yet Mr. Elliott Cresson has actually had the audacity to trumpet his praise in this country as 'the WILBERFORCE of the American Congress!' (Hear! hear!) Nay, more—this same distinguished oppressor, who is the main pillar of the American Colonization Society, recently declared in Congress that 'the abolition of slavery was no object of desire to him, unless accompanied by colonization. So far was he from desiring it, unaccompanied by this condition, that he would not live in a country where the one took place without the other'!! He can live most happily in a State, nearly one half of whose population are slaves: but if slavery should be abolished, he would abandon his country! And yet, in the estimation of Mr. Elliott Cresson, he is 'the WILBERFORCE of the American Congress'!—Nay, we have not yet come to the climax. During

* NOTE. Mr Garrison was here interrupted by the entrance of DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq. into the Hall, who was greeted by deafening and long continued thunders of applause.

the famous Missouri struggle in 1819, it is said Gen. Mercer was carried into Congress, at his desire, upon a sick bed, in order that he might give his vote for the admission of a new slave State into the American Union! And it was through his influence (in conjunction with Henry Clay, another pillar of the American Colonization Society) that a majority was then obtained in Congress; and thus a new market was opened for the surplus slave population of his native State. The State of Missouri covers a surface of more than 60,000 square miles; and the man who was instrumental in opening this vast territory for the sale and enslavement of his fellow countrymen, without limitation, and thus raising the value of slaves in all the slave States, is styled by Mr. Elliott Cresson 'the WILBERFORCE of the American Congress'!! Was ever a greater aspersion cast upon that venerable name by the enemies of the abolition of the slave trade? (Hear!) The hardihood of the act is equalled only by that of the Managers of the American Colonization Society, who sent over to England by Mr. Cresson, a portrait of its first President, Bushrod Washington, (who was a slave-breeder, and from whose plantations slaves were sold and driven off in chains to the Mississippi,) requesting that it might be hung up at No. 18, Aldermanbury, by the side of the venerable CLARKSON's!—WILBERFORCE compared to an incorrigible slaveholder, who successfully exerted himself to open a new market for slaves! for the prosecution of that infernal traffic which WILBERFORCE had spent the best energies of his useful life in seeking to destroy! And CLARKSON associated with a negro breeder, who speculated in human flesh and sinews!! The insult is not merely a personal insult—it is an insult to the British nation; (cheers)—it is an insult to the virtuous and humane throughout the world! (Great cheering.)

Mr. Chairman, what is the object of the American Colonization Society?—Mr. Cresson says it is 'the final and entire abolition of slavery.' I think I shall be able to prove, in three minutes, that this assertion is as far from the truth as the east is from the west. Of course, the object of every Society is defined in its Constitution. First of all, then, let us listen to the Constitution of the American Colonization Society. Its 2d Article is as follows:

The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations upon the subject.

Here, surely, is not the remotest allusion either to colonizing emancipated slaves, or to the abolition of slavery, as an object of the Society. On the contrary, it is confined exclusively to the removal of the free people of color. But as the Society has been in exist-

tence more than sixteen years, it is possible that it has changed its Constitution. What says the Sixteenth Annual Report of the Society for the year 1833:

Resolved, That the true and single object of the Society is that which is expressed in its original constitution, viz: 'to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their consent, the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient;' and that this object will be hereafter, as it has been heretofore, steadily adhered to.

Is not this evidence sufficient to convict Mr. Cresson of deception?

These and a hundred other similar declarations, Mr. Cresson has seen repeatedly, and yet he publicly declares in this country that one of the objects of the American Colonization Society is the abolition of slavery in the United States! Judge ye of his uprightness.

Surely it is not wonderful that a Society originating in a slaveholding State—formed by slaveholders—managed by slaveholders—supported by slaveholders; surely, I say, it is not wonderful that such a Society should pledge itself not to agitate the question of negro slavery, or seek its removal. It would be almost a miracle, were it otherwise.

Nor is it wonderful that the Society should denounce abolitionists as madmen, fanatics and incendiaries;—nor that they should utter atrocious slanders against the free people of color, in order to justify the detention in bondage of two millions of slaves, and to make men-stealers flatter themselves that they are genuine philanthropists in continuing to plunder and oppress the poor and needy;—nor that they should invent and reiterate the stupid fiction that Africa is the native country of American horn citizens, to make their expulsion a plausible act;—nor that they should applaud those diabolical laws which forbid the instruction of the slaves, which prevent the improvement of the free blacks, which make expulsion the condition of emancipation, and which grind to the dust one-sixth part of the whole American population.

Nor is it wonderful that the Society should compass sea and land to make proselytes, and send over to England Mr. Elliott Cresson to dupe your philanthropy, in order to expel the free people of color, since their expulsion would soothe the fears of the oppressors, increase the value of the slaves, and place unlimited power in the hands of those who are given over to hardness of heart and blindness of mind, and to whom the fearful description of the apostle emphatically applies:—'Being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, spiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, without understanding, covenant breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful: who knowing the judgment of God, that

they which commit such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them.' Here is a development of motives!

'So far from being connected with the abolition of slavery, the measure proposed would prove one of the greatest securities to enable the master to keep in possession his own property.'—[Speech of John Randolph at the first meeting of the Colonization Society.]

'What is the free black to the slave! A standing perpetual incitement to discontent. Though the condition of the slave be a thousand times the best—supplied, protected, instead of destitute and desolate—yet the folly of the condition held to involuntary labor, finds always allurement in the spectacle of exemption from it, without consideration of the adjuncts of destitution and misery. The slave would have then little excitement to discontent, but for the free black.'—[Fifteenth Annual Report, p. 25.]

'By removing these people, we rid ourselves of a large party who will always be ready to assist our slaves in any mischievous design which they may conceive; and who are better able, by their intelligence, and the facilities of their communication, to bring those designs to a successful termination.'—[African Repository, vol. i. p. 176.]

'But is it not certain, that should the people of the southern States refuse to adopt the opinions of the Colonization Society, and continue to consider it both just and politic to leave untouched a system, for the termination of which we think the whole wisdom and energy of the States should be put in requisition, that they will CONTRIBUTE MORE EFFECTUALLY TO THE CONTINUANCE AND STRENGTH OF THIS SYSTEM, by removing those now free, than by any or all other methods which can possibly be devised.' . . . In the decision of these individuals, as to the effects of the Colonization Society, we perceive no error of judgment: OUR OPINION IS THE SAME AS THEIRS. WE CAN UNITE WITH THEM TO EFFECT THEIR OBJECT.'—[African Repository, vol. i. p. 227.]

'The removal of every single free black in America, would be productive of nothing but safety to the slaveholder.'—[African Repository, vol. iii. p. 202.]

Here, then, it is unblushingly avowed, on the part of the Society, that the best mode to continue and strengthen the bloody slave system is to remove to Africa the free black population, and that it can heartily unite with the slave owners to effect that brutalizing, soul-destroying, heaven-daring object! Justly, Mr. Chairman, have you described it as 'a most *diabolical* scheme'—justly have you declared that 'never did Satan with more success transform himself into an angel of light, than in the gloss which has covered its deformities.' And yet the persecuted Mr. Elliott Cressen insists that the primary object of the Society is, THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY! Thus he has acquired a temporary success in this country, which has been trumpeted over the United States by the African Repository, and other periodicals.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, it is not wonderful that such a combination as the American Colonization Society should defy prejudice, proclaim eternal hostility against the free people of color, discourage their improvement, deride the power of the gospel, trample under foot

the precepts of the Saviour, insult the Holy Spirit, and blaspheme the God who made the heavens and the earth, and formed of one blood all nations of men. But it is enough to chill the blood of a christian to read sentiments like these:

'In every part of the United States there is a broad, and impassable line of demarcation between every man who has one drop of African blood in his veins, and every other class in the community. The habits, the feelings, all the prejudices of society—prejudices which neither refinement, nor argument, nor education, nor religion itself, can subdue—mark the people of color, whether bond or free, as the subjects of a degradation inevitable and incurable.'—[African Repository, vol. iv. p. 113.]

'We have endeavored, but endeavored in vain, to restore them either to self-respect or to the respect of others. It is not our fault that we have failed: it is not theirs. It has resulted from a cause over which neither we nor they, can ever have any control. Here, therefore, they must be forever debased; more than this, they must be forever useless; more even than this, they must be forever a nuisance, from which it were a blessing for society to be rid. And yet they, and they only, are qualified for colonizing Africa.'—[African Repository, vol. v. p. 276.]

'Is it not wise, then, for the free people of color and their friends to admit, what cannot reasonably be doubted, that the people of color must, in this country, remain for ages, probably forever, a separate and inferior caste, weighed down by causes, powerful, universal, inevitable; which neither legislation nor christianity can remove?'—[African Repository, vol. vii. p. 196.]

'The Managers consider it clear that causes exist, and are operating, to prevent their improvement and elevation, to any considerable extent as a class, in this country,—which are fixed, not only beyond the control of the friends of humanity, but of any human power. Christianity will not do for them here, what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the colored man, nor of the white man, nor of christianity; but an ordination of Providence, and no more to be changed than the laws of Nature.'—[Fifteenth Annual Report, p. 17.]

Thus do the supporters of the Colonization Society (constituting an overwhelming majority of the nation,) glory in their shame, and resolve that neither God nor man shall ever induce them to treat their colored countrymen otherwise than as the off-scouring of the earth, so long as they refuse to be transported to Africa. Thus do they daringly palm their sins upon the Infinite Jehovah, whose tender mercies are over all his works, and maintain that a physical distinction makes it morally impossible for them to do justly and love mercy. This is something worse than paganism!

Mr. Chairman, my soul sickens in turning over these masses of moral corruption, and I hasten to a close. I cannot boast, like Mr. Cressen, of defraying my own expenses; for he is opulent, and I am poor. All that I have is dedicated to this cause. But I am proud to say that the funds for my mission to this country were principally made up by the voluntary contributions of my free colored brethren, at a very short notice. (Great cheering.) I stand before you as their mouth-piece, and with their blessings resting upon my head.

Persecuted, derided, yet noble people! never can I repay generosity and love like theirs. Sir, I am sorry to trespass a moment longer upon this meeting, but I beg a brief indulgence that I may discharge an act of justice toward that persecuted class. You have heard them described this day by the American Colonization Society, as the most abandoned wretches on the face of the earth—as constituting all that is vile, loathsome and dangerous—as being more degraded and miserable than the slaves. Sir, it is not possible for the mind to coin, or the tongue to utter, baser libels against an injured people. Their condition is as much superior to that of the slaves, as the light of heaven is more cheering than the darkness of the pit. (Cheers.) Many of their number are in the most affluent circumstances, and distinguished for their refinement, enterprise and talents. They have flourishing churches, supplied by pastors of their own color, in various parts of the land, embracing a large body of the truly excellent of the earth. They have public and private libraries. They have their temperance societies, their debating societies, their moral societies, their literary societies, their benevolent societies, their savings societies, and a multitude of kindred associations. They have their infant schools, their primary and high schools, their Sabbath Schools, and their Bible classes. They contribute to the support of foreign and domestic missions, to bible and tract societies, &c. In the city of Philadelphia alone, they have more than fifty different associations for their moral and intellectual improvement. In fact, they are rising up even with mountains of prejudice piled upon them, with more than Titanic strength, and trampling beneath their feet the slanders of their enemies. A spirit of virtuous emulation is pervading their ranks, from the young child to the gray head. Among them is taken a large number of daily and weekly newspapers, and of literary and scientific periodicals, from the popular monthlies up to the grave and erudite North American and American Quarterly Reviews. I have at this moment to my own paper, 'THE LIBERATOR,' one thousand subscribers among this people; and, from an occupancy of the editorial chair for more than seven years, I can testify that they are more punctual in their payments than any five hundred white subscribers whose names I ever placed indiscriminately in my subscription book. (Immense applause.)

This, Mr. Chairman, is but a rapid glance at a people, whom the American Colonization Society stigmatizes as the most abandoned wretches on the earth. Sir, having seen that that Society libels the gospel of Jesus Christ, and blasphemes the most high God, it cannot surprise us to discover that it bears false witness against the objects of its hatred and persecution.

Sir, one of this calumniated class is now on

this platform. (Cheers.) He has visited this country as the Representative of the Wilberforce Settlement in Upper Canada—that little colony, which, though founded under the most appalling difficulties, is, I am happy to say, in a thriving condition. And I would here observe that it receives the prayers, and applause, and encouragement of all the abolitionists in the United States. It is opening an asylum to which many a bleeding slave has already escaped, and others will follow in their track; and by its proximity to slavery, will add much to hasten the total and speedy destruction of that iniquitous system. It has received already some assistance from the British public, and it richly deserves your sympathies, your aid, and your prayers. He, to whom I allude as its representative, is the Rev. NATHANIEL PAUL, a gentleman with whom the proudest or best man on earth need not blush to associate. (Cheers.) I am proud in pointing to him as a specimen of that much injured class, out of which the American Colonization Society declares, 'no individual can be elevated, and below which none can be depressed.' I appeal to him for the truth of my statements to you this day; and I trust you will have the pleasure of hearing his testimony at the close of my remarks.

It is worthy of our inquiry to know in what light the American Colonization Society is held by the objects of its pseudo benevolence, the free people of color. Never was a scheme more heartily execrated and actively opposed: they hate it with a perfect hatred. I select a few expressions of their sentiments, as given in a multitude of public meetings all over the free States. A still later edition of their sentiments has been published, expressly in regard to my mission to England.

[Here Mr. Garrison read a large number of resolutions which had been passed by them at various periods. He then resumed:—]

What, but the most dreadful persecution, can induce people, cherishing these sentiments from the first moment of the formation of the Colonization Society in 1816, down to the present time, to leave the land of their birth for a foreign one—to leave a land of civilization and christianity, for a land of barbarism, darkness and woe? Judge ye!

One word as to the practical effects of the Colonization Society. Since its organization, it has removed less than 1000 slaves, and about 2000 free persons of color. The increase of the slave population in the United States is 200 souls, daily. At least 600,000 new victims have been born and kidnapped, and nearly half a million have died in bondage, since the Colonization Society has been employed in shipping off to their African Botany Bay less than 1000!—I have brought some documents with me to this meeting, relative to the rise and progress of Liberia, which abundantly prove that there is as much truth in many of

Mr. Cresson's statements respecting that col-ouy, as there is in the tales of Munchausen, or in the story which Mahomet tells of his visit to the third heavens—and very little more; but it is impossible for me at this time to go into particulars. The British public, however, shall have the whole truth of the matter, through some medium or other. I believe that colony will be a curse, an awful curse to Africa, especially if the American Colonization Society succeed in its direful purpose of crowding her shores with a vicious and ignorant population.

The practical effects of the Colonization Society in the United States are too numerous to mention. Let this suffice—it has inflamed and sanctioned the most unholy and malignant prejudices—spoken peace to the slaveholder—seared the consciences of the people as with a hot iron—in many cases directly prevented the instruction of the free blacks—and induced the enactment of laws in nearly all the slave States, preventing emancipation without the expulsion of the emancipated, and also vexing the free blacks in the most cruel manner. Its tendency is, moreover, as we have shown, by its own confession, to make the slave system secure and lucrative.

But there is an unerring test of its real influence. 'Figures cannot lie,' says the time-honored adage. Nearly all the slave States, as well as the free States, highly applaud the Colonization Society. If, then, it be a benevolent institution, and its supporters be the determined enemies of slavery and the best friends of the free blacks, there must, of course, have been a most benevolent change effected in 17 years of powerful and unremitted exertions, in the legislation of the slave States, favorable to emancipation. This point is very instructive, because it admits of no mistake. The question then is,—Has the number of emancipations in the slave States diminished or increased since the Colonization Society was organized, as compared with preceding years? The first Census of the Population of the United States was taken in 1790, and has been taken every 10 years subsequently. To the Census, then, we make our appeal:

⁴ In 1790, the free colored people were 20,115 in all the States south of the Potomac and the Ohio.

In 1800, they had increased to 32,604, or at the rate of 60 per cent.

In 1810, they were 58,016, an increase of 73 per cent.

In 1820, they amounted to 77,040; which is an enlargement of only 32 per cent.

In 1830, the free colored people had increased to 112,708, which is an increase of 45 per cent.

So that by comparing the 26 years before the Colonization Society was instituted, with the 14 years subsequent to its establishment, it appears that there was an average disproportion in the emancipation of slaves of 74 per cent. per annum to 32; or in other words, that the number of slaves annually liberated before the Colonization Society was formed, was at the rate of 7 to 3 emancipated since the year 1816.

According to the previous enumerations and the ad-

vances of the free colored people before the Colonization Society was formed, the free colored people in 1820, should have numbered 112,464; and in 1830, they should have increased to 244,000: whereas in 1830, they only amounted to the number which they should in ordinary course have attained in 1820.

The American Colonization Society may therefore be fairly charged with having been the cause of the present detention in worse than Algerine bondage of hundreds of thousands of our race.

Sure I am that my appeal in behalf of my oppressed countrymen will be felt here, and in every part of this land. It is impossible that the British people, proudly standing, as they now are, upon the neck of colonial slavery—it is impossible for them to consider their work at an end, whilst there remains a human being held as a chattel under the whole heavens. And let me assure them, for their encouragement, that all is not dark or hopeless in the United States. Thousands have caught a portion of their zeal—the abolition spirit is abroad in our land, with great power, and is traversing its length and breadth, conquering and to conquer—abolition societies are formed, and multiplying, in every free section of our territory, on the principle of immediate and unconditional emancipation—four periodicals have been established expressly to maintain the cause of the afflicted and the right of the poor, and a multitude of our political and religious periodicals are now freely discussing the question of negro slavery—strong exertions are making for the repeal of all those laws which now disfranchise our free colored population, and schools are multiplying for their mental cultivation. The American Colonization Society is falling like Lucifer, never to rise again: and ere the termination of this year, I trust your hearts will be cheered with the intelligence that a National Abolition Society has been formed in the United States of America. (Cheers.)

Mr. Chairman, I have distinctly pointed out to this meeting that great BASTILE OF OPPRESSION, the American Colonization Society. I have given you a view of its dark front—of its massive walls—of its ponderous gates—and of the immense number of victims who are incarcerated in its loathsome cells, and who are making through their iron grates, signals of distress, and uttering cries for relief!—Let the British nation assail it with the battle-axe of justice; let their artillery of truth, charged to the muzzle, blaze against it; let them dig a mine under its foundation, and prepare a train for its destruction; and soon it shall be blown into countless fragments, and all its captives be set free! (Cheers.)

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. in introducing the Rev. NATHANIEL PAUL to the meeting, said:

The Rev. gentleman is on a mission to this country, to obtain assistance for those free persons of color who have been driven, by the

oppression of the United States, to take refuge under the British sceptre in a portion of Upper Canada. He comes to England under the special recommendation of the Governor General of that portion of His Majesty's dominions, and seeks to obtain contributions to be applied to the education, civilization and advancement of the population in that district.

The Rev. Mr. ABRAHAMs, a gentleman friendly to the Colonization Society, wished to know whether an opportunity would be afforded him of replying to the statements of Mr. GARRISON.

Mr. THOMPSON rose and said—This gentleman pleads the cause of the American Colonization Society; but he is not Mr. Elliott Cresson, who has been again and again invited publicly to answer the charges brought against the Society, of which he is the accredited agent. (Cheers.) We have called you together to-day, in order to expose the principles of that Society, and I am authorized to inform Mr. Abrahams that we shall be happy to hear Mr. Cresson in defence of the Society; but in his absence, we cannot permit the interference of any other gentleman.

The Rev. N. PAUL then came forward and said—

In rising to address an audience of this description, I shall not offer an apology, because I consider it to be unnecessary. Nature has furnished me with an apology in the complexion that I wear, and that shall speak in my behalf. (Cheers.)

Allow me to say that Mr. Garrison has, for many years past, devoted himself exclusively to the interests of the slaves and the free people of color in the United States of America. He requires, however, no commendation from me, or from any other gentleman whatever; 'the tree is known by its fruits,' and 'out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaketh.' But if there be any necessity for calling evidence in favor of that gentleman, there is an abundance, demonstrating that he has acted a most disinterested part on behalf of those whose cause he has espoused. It has been his lot to make large sacrifices, in order that he might be enabled to pursue the object of his heart's desire. He might have swum upon the tide of popular applause, and have had the great and the noble of our country on his side, who would now have been applauding him, instead of persecuting him as the disturber of the peace and tranquillity of the nation, if he had not lifted up his voice on behalf of the suffering slaves. (Hear, hear.) To my certain knowledge, when he commenced his career, it was under the most unfavorable circumstances. No one stood forward in his defence, and he was under the necessity of adopting and pursuing a system of the most rigid economy, in order that he might be sustained while he was engaged in the important work he had undertaken.

The CHAIRMAN here rose and said—I see that the gentleman, who wishes to speak in favor of the colonization scheme, is withdrawing; but if he will wait till our regular business is gone through, I shall be happy to sit any length of time to hear an advocate of that Society. (Cheers.) Let us, however, first know that he is authorized to speak on its behalf. If our friend, Dr. Hodgkin, whom I see sitting by his side, will declare him to be the representative of Mr. Cresson, I shall be most happy to have a fair discussion—it is what of all things we wish for. We want the points at issue fairly met. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Mr. ABRAHAMs said, that he had long been a resident in North America, and he wished to vindicate the American Colonization Society against the calumnious aspersions that had been cast upon it. He was as much a friend to the blacks as any one present.

DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq. said—It will be unnecessary to put the gentleman under the necessity of showing that he comes here in a delegated capacity. If he remains here till the business is closed, whoever he represents, it is our business to gather the truth. If he comes forward like myself, as an abolitionist, though he may be mistaken, we will respect his motives. (Cheers.)

The Rev. N. PAUL resumed—But it is not merely the sacrifice that Mr. Garrison has made, or the rigid system of economy that he has adopted, that speaks on his behalf; but the sufferings that he has endured likewise recommend him to the attention of every philanthropist. This gentleman has suffered forty-nine days incarceration in a prison in the city of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, because he had the hardihood to engage in defence of the suffering slaves in that State. The fact of Mr. Garrison's imprisonment has been loudly sounded throughout this country. The agent of the American Colonization Society has seen fit to represent Mr. Garrison as a mere pamphleteer, as the editor of a negro newspaper in the United States, and as a convicted libeller. This is the manner in which this gentleman has been spoken of in this country, by the agent of the American Colonization Society. And does that agent suppose that by such mere slang he can lower Mr. Garrison in the estimation of the British public? The simpleton reminds me of another of whom I have heard, who, for some cause or other, became exceedingly exasperated at the moon, and stood the whole night angrily shaking his fist at it, but could not reach it. (Cheers.)

I make no complaint against the agent of the American Colonization Society for stating the fact that Mr. Garrison was convicted, and thrown into prison in the United States; it is a fact, and he had a right to the advantage of it whenever he saw fit. I only blame him because, in stating it, he did not tell the cause

why—who the persons were at whose instigation it was done—or the character of the court that condemned him. Inasmuch as that gentleman did not perform that part of his duty, if you will allow me I will undertake to discharge it for him.

Perhaps it is not generally known that in the United States of America—that land of freedom and equality—the laws are so exceedingly liberal that they give to man the liberty of purchasing as many negroes as he can find means to pay for, (hear, hear,) and also the liberty to sell them again. In consequence of this, a regular system of merchandize is established in the souls and bodies of our fellow creatures. It so happened that a very large number of mercantile gentlemen resided in the city of Baltimore and its vicinity, who were engaged in this traffic; and Mr. Garrison had the impudence, the unblushing effrontery to state, in a public newspaper, that this traffic was a direct violation of the laws of God, and contrary to the principles of human nature. (Cheers.) This was the crime of which he was convicted. And now I will tell you the character of the judicial tribunal before which the conviction took place. Allow me to say, and let that suffice, that the judges of the court were slaveholders, (hear, hear,) and the jury likewise. Had it been the case that such men as WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, THOMAS CLARKSON, THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, JAMES CROPPER, and in addition to these, the honorable gentleman who sits on my right, (Mr. O'CONNELL,) (cheers,) and had these gentlemen in the place where Mr. Garrison resided pursued the course they have adopted in this country, they would have been indicted, convicted, and thrown into prison. In regard to my friend on my right, (Mr. O'Connell,) I know not what they would have done with him: he could have expected no quarters whatever. (Laughter and cheers.) I believe he has more than once arraigned the American Republic before the British community, before God, and before the world, as the most detestable political hypocrite in the world. And this is not all. I may say, in addition, that that Court and that Jury would have convicted the whole Anti-Slavery Society of this country, and would have transported them all to Liberia as the punishment of their crimes. (Laughter and loud cheers.)

These are the causes and these the reasons why our friend, Mr. Garrison, was imprisoned; and as I said before, tho' I have no complaint to make against the agent of that benevolent institution, as it is called—the American Colonization Society—for stating that Mr. Garrison was cast into prison; yet I submit that, in connexion with it, he ought to have told the reason why it took place. But I shall leave this GARRISON to itself. It possesses, I believe, ammunition enough to defend itself from any attack that may be made upon it,

either by the agent of that Society, or the gentleman who has appeared here to plead on its behalf this morning. (Loud applause.)

I now come directly to express my views in relation to the American Colonization Society.

As a colored man, and as a citizen of the United States, it necessarily follows that I must feel more deeply interested in its operation, than any other individual present. In relation to the Society, I know not which is the most detestable in my view—its *CRUELTY*, or its *HYPOCRISY*. Both of these are characteristics of its whole operation.

I brand it as a *cruel* institution, and one of the most cruel that has ever been brought into existence by the ingenuity of man. If I am asked, why it is cruel? I answer, in the first place, because it undertakes to expel from their native country hundreds of thousands of unoffending and inoffensive individuals, who, in time of war, have gone forth into the field of battle, and have contended for the liberties of that country. Why does it seek to expel them? Because the God of heaven has given them a different complexion from themselves. (Cheers.) I say it is a *cruel* institution, because it seeks to rob the colored men in that country of every right, civil, political or religious, to which they are entitled by the American Declaration of Independence. It is through the influence of that Society, to the everlasting disgrace of a land boasting of liberty and equality, that there are laws enacted which absolutely forbid the instruction of the slave, or even the free person of color, in the use of letters. I say it is a *cruel* institution, because in addition to this, it has also been the means of having laws enacted which prevents them from meeting together to pay homage to their Creator, and worship the God who made them. I might go on enumerating instances of cruelty, and shew to this meeting that even combinations have been formed in what are called the free States, under the influence of this Society, not to give to the colored man employment, but to rob him of the means of gaining his livelihood, that he may thereby be compelled to leave the land of his nativity, and go to Africa.

In the next place, I condemn the Society on account of its *hypocrisy*; and this, I believe, will be detested wherever it appears, by every honest man. And wherein does that hypocrisy consist or appear? I mean more particularly in regard to the representations which have been made of the Society in this country. It comes to Great Britain, and begins to talk about the evils of slavery, pitying the condition of the unhappy victims of cruelty and oppression in the United States of America: and it tells the British public that its object is to do away with slavery, and to emancipate those who are in bondage. What Briton's heart is there but responds to such a sentiment as this? (Cheers.) Englishmen

are seeking for the liberation of the slaves; and, giving credit to the reports which they have heard respecting the American Colonization Society, without examining its principles, many benevolent individuals in this country have come forward and freely contributed to its funds. But instead of the institution being the enemy of slavery; instead of its being formed for the purpose of annihilating the system; its object is to perpetuate it, and render more secure the property of man in man. I will shew to the meeting, in a few words, that its object cannot be the abolition of slavery, because through a hundred of its organs it has over and over again denounced the proposition of liberating the slaves, except on condition of their being transported to Africa. And now let the audience understand, that, at the present time, there are upwards of 2,000,000 of slaves in the United States, and that their annual increase is more than 60,000. If slavery, therefore, is to be abolished only as those who shall be emancipated are transported from the United States to Africa, we ask, when is slavery to cease in that country? The Colonization Society, with all the efforts that it can bring to bear, cannot transport the annual increase of the slaves, (hear, hear,) and, therefore, if no other means be adopted for the abolition of slavery in America, its extinction will not take place until the last trumpet shall sound. (Immense applause.)

Again I repeat, it is *hypocritical*, because it professes to be the friend of the free people of color, and to pity their present condition; and hence it says, 'It seeks to promote their welfare.' That gentleman (Mr. Abrahams) tells us that he is acquainted with the people of North America, and that this Society is formed, in part, for the benefit of the free people of color. Does that gentleman know that when an effort was made at New-Haven, two or three years since, to establish a College for the instruction of the free people of color,—notwithstanding New-Haven is within the boundaries of that part of the country which is called the 'free States,'—yet the supporters of the Society came forward, held a meeting, and passed the most spirited resolutions against the establishment of that institution in the city? (Hear, hear!) Does that gentleman know that in the same State, a white female, in endeavoring to establish a school for the instruction of colored females, has been most inhumanly assailed by the advocates of the Colonization Society, who, in town meetings, passed resolutions against her benevolent object, as spirited as if the cholera were about to break out in the village, and they by a single effort of this kind could hinder its devastations? They could not have acted with more promptness, and energy, and violence, than they did, in persecuting this excellent lady, because her compassion led her to espouse the cause of the suffering blacks. (Cheers.) They were

ready to expel her from the country. I could relate many facts with regard to that part of the country, for which the Rev. gentleman contends, and show that, instead of the American Colonization Society seeking the welfare of the free people of color, it is their most bitter enemy. Whenever it speaks of this class, both in public and in private, it calumniates and abuses them in the most extravagant manner, as its reports will abundantly show.

Wishing to be brief, and knowing that there are gentlemen present who will address you with more interest than I can, (hear, hear,) I will make but one remark more, and that respects the designs of this Society, with regard to Africa. O, bleeding, suffering Africa! We hear of the sad condition which that country is in; it is enveloped in darkness, infinitely deeper than the sable hue of its degraded sons. The vilest superstition there abounds; and hence this Society represents it as their object to let in the rays of the gospel, and enlighten the people. But, according to their own reports, whom do they select as instruments to spread civilization and christianity? People not fit to live in America—people who are a disgrace to that country. (Hear, hear.) I pity Africa as much as any man; I want her to be enlightened; but let us send men who are enlightened themselves. If we mean to evangelize Africa, let us at least send Christians there to do the work. (Cheers.)

Mr. Garrison has well remarked that the free people of color, in the United States, are opposed to this Society. I will venture to assert that I am as extensively acquainted with them, throughout both the free and slave States, as any man in that country; and I do not know of a solitary colored individual who entertains the least favorable view of the American Colonization Society; but, in every way, they possibly could, they have expressed their disapprobation of it. They have said to the Society, '*Let us alone.*'

The argument which is brought by the friends of the Society in favor of colonization is, that the white population of America can never amalgamate or live on terms of equality with the blacks. Be it so. Let it be admitted that their prejudices are strong. All that I will say is, that if such be the case, they ought not to send an agent to this country to ask assistance to enable them to gratify a prejudice of which they ought to be ashamed. (Cheers.)

J. S. BUCKINGHAM, Esq. M. P. next addressed the assembly. In rising to speak (said the honorable gentleman) to this resolution,* it is

* The speech of DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq. should precede that of Mr. Buckingham; but the manuscript was left in England for his revision, and, to my disappointment, it has not yet been received, although I am expecting it daily. It shall be given to the nation as soon as practicable. The resolution which is referred to by Mr. Buckingham was offered by Mr. O'Connell.

probable that I shall have occasion to make a claim upon your justice and impartiality, with a view of making some statements not at all to invalidate those you have already heard, but to show how far, and to what extent, I accord with the sentiments of the meeting; and where conscientiously I feel it my duty to stop.

In the first place, in order to propitiate your willing ear, I beg to state that while at the present moment the greater proportion happily of the people of England demand not merely emancipation, but the *immediate* emancipation of the slaves in whatsoever quarter of the world they may be found; that more than twenty years ago, I stood almost alone, in the advocacy of the sentiment; and, therefore, if I am a heretic with respect to slavery, my heresy has been rather in advance than in arrear of the general mass of mankind. No one will, after this statement, for a moment suppose that I can think or say any thing as an apology for the existence or the continuance of slavery. But the advertence that has been made to the American Colonization Society induces me to say thus much. It is now some months since I first became acquainted with its object. From the manner in which that object was stated in the paragraphs I read, and from a person with whom I have conversed upon the subject, I saw clearly that the abolition of slavery was *not* its main object, but that the settlement in Africa of persons emancipated, or persons set free, was the chief end to which the Society looked. Feeling that the abolition of slavery was a high and holy design, I made an objection to the advocate of the American Colonization Society, that it was not included in his plan; and thereupon, as it were, we separated, because though I was convinced that the civilization of Africa was a grand object, yet the plan would have recommended itself to me with ten-fold force if it had been associated with the abolition of slavery, instead of the transportation of those previously free. I therefore never have been the advocate (God forbid! that such a thing should be possible) of the American Colonization Society in that respect; (hear, hear!) and on all occasions when an appeal has been made to myself, or I have been requested to appeal to others for funds, I have declined doing both the one and the other, conceiving it to be an American and not a British object, and one in which I could not concur.

seconded by Capt. Charles Smart, and adopted by the meeting—as follows:

Resolved, That the colonization of the free people of color of the United States in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient, has ever been the fundamental principle of the American Colonization Society; that the abolition of slavery has never been an object of the Society; but that, on the contrary, the security of slave property has always been the governing motive, and that the decrease of manumissions, under the influence of the principles of the Society, proves its efficiency for that purpose.

The conclusions to which I have come is, (after having read the controversy, if I may so say, and the correspondence on both sides—for this question has two sides like every other,) I believe the motives which originated the Society were benevolent. The aim of its first promoters was to meliorate the condition of certain individuals, by removing them, with their own consent, from a land in which prejudices existed against them to a great extent. But the slave-owners, seeing that the scheme might be turned to their own advantage, have availed themselves of its instrumentality; and I grieve to say, they have obtained the mastery, and that the benevolent portion of the subscribers has sunk into a small minority; so that the agency of the Society is employed for the interests of those who regard abolition as altogether contrary to their interests. (1)

To show that I am not singular in believing that there are some persons who contribute to its funds from benevolent motives, who believe that it does not deserve all the odium that has been cast upon it, I may say that no later than yesterday, I read a letter from THOMAS CLARKSON, (2) a gentleman whom no one can refuse to call the great apostle of abolition and the

(1) Mr. Buckingham is a gentleman of whom I entertain a high opinion. He is an uncompromising enemy of slavery, and a strenuous advocate of immediate and total abolition. But this speech, the reader will readily perceive, is full of contradictions. The truth is, Mr. Buckingham was the only *abolitionist* who was entrapped at the meeting held in London for the formation of a British Colonization Society; and in his endeavors to justify himself in the eyes of his abolition brethren, he often speaks quite inconsistently. For instance—at one moment he expresses his utter disapprobation of the American Colonization Society, and his determination to oppose it; and at the next, he aims to show that, after all, it has done much good, and is so benevolent as to secure the approbation of even Clarkson himself!—So much for making one false step. It is evident, moreover, that Mr. Buckingham was not aware of the fact, that of the individuals who assembled to form the Colonization Society, every one who advocated the measure at the meeting was a *SLAVERHOLDER*. Nor does he seem to be aware that a large majority of its managers have, from its commencement, been *SLAVERHOLDERS*. He errs in supposing that southern oppressors had not, until within a few years, ‘obtained the mastery’ over the Society, for they always held it.

(2) This letter was, in fact, written some time previous to the meeting at Exeter Hall. Since that meeting was held, I have had a long interview with the venerable CLARKSON, the particulars of which cannot be inserted in this pamphlet. Let this suffice: he said to me, with great emphasis,—‘Tell the people of the United States, Mr. Garrison, that THOMAS CLARKSON is now resolved not to give any countenance to the American Colonization Society. Tell them that he refused to comply with the solicitation of Mr. Cresson to become an honorary member of it; and also refused to give his sanction to the British Colonization Society. *Take up neutral ground*. My letter to Mr. Cresson, in favor of the American Colonization Society, was extorted by his statement [what a statement!] that one hundred thousand slaves had been offered to the Society, gratuitously, to be sent to Liberia. This unparalleled liberality seemed to me to be indeed the work of God.’

friend of the negro, in which he declared that after having examined the evidence produced upon both sides, he still believed that the Colonization Society had done good; that it was doing good; and that still more good would result from its efforts. Now, therefore, if, after having taken all the pains that a man could take to arrive at a right conclusion, I should seem to differ from some persons present, I only ask for the exercise of that charity which has been so eloquently pleaded for by my honorable friend, (Mr. O'Connell,) and beg that you will regard those who entertain this opinion as being as conscientious as those who entertain an opposite sentiment.

Having said that *I am no friend to the American Colonization Society*, and that *I think the excess of evil far predominates over the good*, (hear, hear,) I should be the last individual to hold up my hand, or to use my tongue, in supporting it; (hear, hear!) and so I have said upon every occasion.

But another motive that induces me to intrude on the meeting is this; an attempt has been made very recently to form a Colonization Society of English origin and growth, whose object should be to settle on the coast of Africa, such free blacks as might be willing to go, with a view of spreading civilization throughout that country. Now the two objects are distinct: to civilize Africa is one thing—to emancipate the slaves another; (hear, hear!) and if Africa can be civilized without rivetting the chains around the slaves, I think it an object worthy the attention of the British public. To show that these objects can be separated, I may state that at the time when the abolition of the slave-trade took place in England, there were many who rejoiced in the event, but who clung with an almost unintelligible pertinacity to the continuance of slavery.

The advocates of gradual emancipation could not comprehend upon what ground immediate emancipation was better. There are degrees in all these conclusions, some arriving at them later, some sooner, and some hardly ever arriving at a right conclusion at all.

The origin of the American Colonization Society, as I stated at a public meeting some time ago, has, I believe, drawn some imputation upon the motives of those who assisted at that meeting. I was one, and I stated to the individual who made the proposition, that I never would be a party to any thing like assisting the American Colonization Society, but that I would keep myself entirely apart and distinct from it. (Hear, hear.) I felt it the more necessary to say this, inasmuch as, though humble as I am, I hope the occasion will arrive when I shall be able to render a service to the cause of a British Colonization Society; and I would not weaken the object, by appearing to abate in my zeal and energy for the emancipation of slaves throughout the world.

Now a word or two, and I shall conclude. Having been present at the meeting to which I have alluded, and knowing that Elliott Cresson had been challenged to appear before a public meeting and combat the point, *I advised him to do so*. (Hear, hear.) I said, 'if you do not, you will deservedly labor under the disadvantageous conclusion which every individual will draw from your absence; you must weigh all the consequences.'

There are others connected with the Society: there is one gentleman behind, (Mr. Abrahams,) who intended to have given his reasons for not agreeing with the statements made upon the present occasion, but who has been prevented from speaking. Now I think the regulation of the Chairman a good one; I think the resolutions should be gone through, and then those who have an opposition to make should state their reasons for it; but he will forgive me for saying, that that was not the case at the meeting the other day; for there it happened that before the meeting was a quarter concluded, an opposition was raised, and this was persevered in, honestly and fairly, quite throughout the meeting; and, therefore, the parties are not on equal terms. I think, as I just now stated, that the present arrangement is far better than the other; but they have an undoubted advantage, which they do not appear so willing to give to their opponents. (1) I think that the nature of the Society is not such as is likely to make a revolution, and, therefore, it is better to allow these statements to be made.

The last thing that I shall say is, that such a Society having been formed, it became the duty of the party to announce its principles; and when I mention that the *Duke of Sussex*, the Duke of Bedford, and Lord Bexley, examined this matter for themselves, and admitted not merely of their names to sanction it, but gave their persons to grace the meeting, I think you will agree with me that they would not be parties to support anything likely to continue slavery. (2) The object was to gain

(1) This imputation was very unfair. The meeting at Exeter Hall was not intended for a general discussion of the merits of the American Colonization Society. It was called by me expressly to expose the real principles and tendencies of that Society, without authorizing any of its partisans to come and interrupt its proceedings; although I should have been glad if Elliott Cresson had accepted my invitation to him to be present. The expense of a public meeting at Exeter Hall is usually about \$500: it was very ungenerous, therefore,—after all my efforts to bring Mr. Cresson to a fair and full discussion,—for any persons to occupy the time of the meeting who were not specially invited to speak, and whose views were not in accordance with the objects of the meeting.

(2) One thing is certain—they have never been parties to support anything likely to *abolish* slavery. Not one of these gentlemen has been associated with the abolition cause in England. At the Hanover-square Room meeting, to which Mr. Buckingham alludes, the *Duke of Sussex*, (Mr. Cresson's 'particular friend,') in the course of some remarks, said—'Let

encouragement from the example of Liberia, and to establish a Colony in its vicinity that should be entirely British, but that should have power to co-operate with any Society that might be formed to civilize Africa.

A question has been raised with regard to Liberia. Mr. O'CONNELL has said that he has read flattering paragraphs in the newspapers respecting it, and I am bound to assume that they have rather painted the condition of that colony; but there is in this Hall a Lieutenant, who, having been present at the meeting, stated this fact, that he had captured many slave vessels under Cape Mesurado previous to the establishment of the colony at Liberia; that several years intervened before he again visited the spot, and he then found, to his great joy and satisfaction, that the establishment of the colony had drawn the slave trade from the place where it before existed, (1) and that he found the colony in a flourishing condition. I have seen a newspaper which is published there, and which is conducted with a degree of intelligence which would be honorable to the people of England (2); and whatever may have been the motives that induced persons to send the individuals there, I believe they are more happy by their transplantation. (Cries of 'No! no!') If they are not, there is no impediment to their leaving the colony. (3)

those gentlemen who are favorable to the anti-slavery system.—and I must confess I do not admire the system—but that is matter of opinion [murmurs and a few cries of oh! oh!]
—let those gentlemen call a meeting of their own and discuss their objections? (Vide London Morning Chronicle of July 5.) Mr Buckingham is unfortunate in his references.

(1) But has it diminished the slave trade in the aggregate? No. What has Sierra Leone done in almost half a century to abolish that trade? Nothing. On the contrary, it has given it countenance and support. That colony and Liberia are convenient stopping-places at which slave ships may obtain their supplies of provisions, rum, gun powder, &c.

(2) The Liberia Herald is a little dingy, rudely printed monthly sheet, utterly contemptible in its appearance, and conducted in an ordinary manner. It may be a wonder in Liberia, and emanating from Liberia, but it has no intrinsic merit in itself.

(3) Yes there is—first, the impediment of poverty, for very few of the colonists can procure the means necessary to return; next, the obstructions which are thrown in their way by the government; and, lastly, the unwillingness of captains of vessels visiting Liberia to carry them back. The following extract of a letter which I have just received from a highly esteemed friend in Philadelphia, puts this matter in a still clearer light. He says:

"A colonizationist from Washington assured me, the other day, that none of the emigrants to Liberia would ever be permitted to return and reside in this country. "What!" said he, "do you think we are such d—d fools as to spend our money to get rid of them, and then allow them to come back again? No—never! Once away, they can never come here any more." "But," said I, "I thought it was all a scheme of benevolence; and, if so, surely you would not compel them to remain in exile against their will!" "Benevolence!" said he—"ha! ha! ha! No—it is to get rid of the d—d free niggers."

The very circumstance of their remaining there,—they being free to go; the circumstance of their acquiring property, and enjoying equal rights and privileges, and being on an equal footing, while in America they are subject to numerous disadvantages, is to my mind a proof that all is not correct that has been stated against Liberia, and that a large amount of good has sprung from the colony which those in favor of emancipation have been slow to believe. (Applause.)


Well, then, come we to the conclusion, namely, whether this object, the colonization of Africa by persons taken from our own colonies, is or is not desirable? The emancipation of the slaves is now happily settled by the British nation, though not by Parliament, because whatever the Parliament may do, I am sure the British nation are so unanimous and so strong on this point, that King, Lords and Commons will never be able to prevent emancipation, and in a short time, compared with that which the Bill recognizes. It is believed by some that when emancipation takes place, inconvenience will arise by there being more slaves than can find profitable occupation as free men; though I am aware some think the contrary. But when the question is put, what are you to do with the surplus slaves that will be thrown out of employment? (1) it will be an excellent answer, that a British colony has been founded upon a healthy part of the coast of Africa, where those individuals may find an asylum from persecution, acquire possession of property, and the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, and where the tyrant white shall not be an impediment to the improvement they shall make; but where, passing from the coast to the interior, they will be able to assist in putting down the slave trade, and in spreading information and christianity side by side, precisely in the same manner as England was visited by the Romans; precisely as America, with the exception of the continuance of slavery, became a happy nation.

The last observation I shall make respects the shame, the guilt, the impropriety of the American government permitting the system of slavery to continue. It is seen in every country, that moral guilt does not depend upon latitude or longitude—upon heat or cold; but it is more aggravated in America than elsewhere, (hear, hear!) because the act of independence being filled with declarations of freedom, they yet perpetuate slavery. I think no person should open his mouth on the subject of slavery without associating with his denunciations of this crime his abhorrence of the hypocritical conduct of America, that

(1) Ludicrous enough!—There is, in fact, no prospect of a redundant population in the West India islands for a thousand years to come. This part of Mr Buckingham's speech was answered with great keenness and spirit by George Thompson, Esq.

extends the banner of freedom over the rest of the world, and yet tolerates this system.

I beg to say that so far as the object of this meeting is to prevent assistance being given to the American Colonization Society, and to state that the benevolence exercised on its behalf should be directed to other channels, so far I agree with it; and wherever it may be my lot to be placed, I shall lose no opportunity of stating that impression. But inasmuch as I do believe that a settlement on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of colonization, though unconnected with any participation of the American scheme, would be beneficial; yet if an opportunity occurs, I would correspond with that or any other body to do good, upon the same principle that if an act of charity were to be done, we would not refuse the aid of an individual because his conduct in some other respects was such as we reprobated. My object simply is to promote the abolition of slavery throughout the world,—in the east and in the west,—and at the same time to civilize the barbarous, instruct the ignorant, turn the heathen into a christian, and so fulfil the great purpose of our creation by diffusing the intelligence which God has given us, and for which we can never express our gratitude to Him in a more impressive mode than by making others the participants of the blessings we enjoy. (Cheers.)

[] Since the preceding sheet was printed, I have received from the London reporter a copy of the speech of DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq. which should have preceded that of Mr. BUCKINGHAM, and which is given below. It is proper to state that Mr. O'CONNELL has not revised this copy.]

DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq. on presenting himself to the notice of the meeting, was received with enthusiastic cheers.

It is quite true, said the learned gentleman, that I have risen to propose a resolution relating both to America and to Africa; but at the present awful and portentous crisis of the great cause in which we are engaged, I cannot allow my mind to be called across the Western waves, without directing your attention, for a moment, to the situation in which that cause now stands in this country. It is in a state deserving our deepest consideration. I know not which to begin with, congratulation or condolence; I know not which to speak, the language of joy or of sorrow; but I fear that the latter ought to predominate, and that the sentiments to be uttered respecting the cause of negro emancipation in this country, should somewhat resemble my national music—the melodies of a conquered people, filled with octave tones of melancholy, and from which there only burst out occasionally the exhilarating melodies of the Irish character. (Cheers.) I think it should be a mixture of that kind; for although I hail negro emancipation as one of the greatest benefits that can

be conferred by one man upon another, yet I never will consent to buy it with £20,000,000 of the public money. (Loud applause.) The people of England have enough thrown upon them already. What is it that presses so heavily upon the poorer classes? What is it that weighs down the operative? What is it that diminishes the wages for labor, and makes industry in our nation almost useless? Why, the burden of taxation, to be sure. And are any men to come and say they will add £20,000,000 more to a debt already most enormous? I would be ready, and so would the British nation, to make any sacrifice in the cause of humanity, provided it was for the good of our fellow men. But the *principle* here is a bad one. SLAVERY IS A CRIME, AND THEREFORE IT IS NOT AN ARTICLE TO BE SOLD; and we will never recognize the sentiment that it deserves a price. (Cheers.) Or if money is to be given, give it to the wretched slaves; but do not give it to the men who hold the lash over the backs of their fellow creatures, and refuse to lay it down even though a female form be fainting before them! I protest against remuneration to the planters in *principle*—I protest against it in *practice*: and I could not address a public meeting on this subject, without calling upon every one present to disclaim the bargain of blood and the traffic of oppression. (Loud cheers.)

But, again, the principle is bad—the practice is bad—but the *application* is still worse. What! are we to pay our £20,000,000, and get nothing in return? It is true, the negro is not to be a *slave*, but he is to be, forsooth, an *apprentice*! (A laugh.) What signifies it to him how you change his name? Will his condition be the better, because you tell him that he is no longer a slave, but his name is 'an apprentice'? True, under the Government plan, the negro driver is no longer to flog him; but we are to send men from England, at a salary of £500 or £600 per annum, to sanction corporeal punishment. (Hear, hear.) It is a great matter to be an apprentice, and to be flogged according to law. (Laughter and cheers.) But the most melancholy thing is, that this plan involves the honor of England. It is a plundering of Englishmen; it is an injustice to the negro; and it will not issue, I fear, in procuring negro emancipation in that peace, quietude, christian feeling and charity, which we wish it to do. Oh, those silly and foolish men (for I must call them so) who have planned this scheme, and insist upon it! They will produce emancipation, but it will be in the blood of the Colonies. It is a duty I feel to man, and before God, to avail myself of every opportunity of protesting against that scheme. (Cheers.)

I have, however, moments of exquisite delight. I remember that 1,500,000 of the people of this country have joined in petitioning the Legislature, for the total and immediate

abolition of slavery. (Cheers.) Oh, blessings upon them! Every age, every station, nay every sex, has united in those petitions. The women of England have led the way; and under the banners of the maids and matrons of England, proud must that individual be who shall have an opportunity of telling them, 'At your command we have done our duty, and slavery is at an end.' (Cheers.) I blame those who were in authority for not adopting proper measures when a case of arrant barbarity and ruffianism was proved against a scoundrel, belonging to one of the Legislative assemblies in the West Indies. I call things by their proper names. (Cheers.) He ordered a female Negro to be flogged for no reason, or simply because he pleased; and when he went into the gaol where he had confined her, and she complained that she did not deserve the treatment she had experienced, he ordered her another flogging. (Hear, hear!)

One thing I should say, that has filled my mind with horror, is, the insolence of the slave owners in their public addresses in this country, and the audacity of their speeches in the American Congress. A ruffian in this country taunted the females who signed the petitions, by calling them the Dorotheys, and Tabithas, and Priscillas. I stigmatized him as a ruffian, in my place in Parliament; and I stigmatize him as such here. (Loud cheers.) It is pleasant to see this unanimity—to see every religious persuasion joining to insist that this black stain shall be taken out of the banner of England, that it shall no longer be tarnished with blood, and that liberty shall be indigenous to our soil. (Cheers.) This absurd scheme of emancipation which Ministers have formed, is something like the fairy tale of Aladdin's lamp; or, rather, the latter dwindles into insignificance when compared with the former. This day it is to be a loan of £15,000,000; but receiving another rub of the lamp, it comes out to-morrow a gift of £20,000,000. (A laugh.) It is one of your statesmen, who has the merit of coining words into docuats—and I would give him credit for it; but when a man seeks to coin men and women into money, I can only hold him in contempt.

The principle of negro emancipation is decided in this country: and all that is required is, that the people, here and every where else, before Parliament can deliberate upon the plan openly, should prepare themselves for it. I have other duties to perform; I am not at home, though I contrive to find myself at home; (a laugh)—but prepare yourselves for it, and let the voice of the English people condemn the *plan*, (1) while they insist upon the *principle*. (Cheers.)

(1) The Emancipation Bill which was passed at the last session of Parliament, binds the slaves as *apprentices* to their masters for seven years, and gives to those tyrants a compensation of £20,000,000!—It is viewed with universal indignation in England.

I ought to apologize to the meeting for having commenced on this subject; but my heart is full, and when I see that the cup of liberty is held in one hand, how can I see poisonous ingredients thrown into it with the other, without exclaiming against the hand which is mixing the poison, and calling for the cup of liberty, pure and uncontaminated? (Loud cheers.)

I will now go to America. I have often longed to go there, in reality; but so long as it is tarnished by slavery, I will never pollute my foot by treading on its shores. (Cheers.) In the course of my Parliamentary duty, a few days ago, I had to arraign the conduct of the despot of the North, for his cruelty to the men, women and children of Poland; and I spoke of him with the execration he merits. But, I confess, that although I hate him with as much hatred as one christian man can hate another human being, viz. I detest his actions with abhorrence, unutterable and indescribable; yet there is a climax in my hatred. I would adopt the language of the poet, but reverse the imagery, and say,

'In the deepest hell, there is a depth still more profound;

and that is to be found in the conduct of the American slave-owners. (Cheers.) They are the basest of the base—the most execrable of the execrable. I thank God that upon the wings of the press, the voice of so humble an individual as myself will pass against the western breeze—that it will reach the rivers, the lakes, the mountains, and the glens of America—and that the friends of liberty there will sympathize with me, and rejoice that I here tear down the image of liberty from the recreant hand of America, and condemn her as the vilest of hypocrites—the greatest of liars. (Long continued cheers.)

Why do I say so? An American gentleman waited upon me this morning; and I asked him, with some anxiety, 'What part of America do you come from?'—'I came from Boston.' Do me the honor to shake hands; you come from a State that has never been tarnished with slavery (1)—a State to which our ancestors fled from the tyranny of England—and the worst of all tyrannies, *the odious attempt to interfere between a man and his God*—a tyranny that I have in principle helped to put down in this country, and wish to put down in every country upon the face of the globe. (Cheers.) It is odious and insolent to inter-

(1) This is strictly true respecting the *State of Massachusetts*; for as soon as our present Constitution was adopted, in which it is declared that all men are born free and equal, &c. it was decided on trial before the Supreme Court that no person could be lawfully held in bondage within the limits of the State. Massachusetts, however, as a province, became implicated in the crime of slavery as early as the year 1629; and until the year 1807 she was a prosector of the foreign slave trade. She therefore does not deserve so much credit as Mr. O'Connell has awarded to her.

here between a man and his God; to fetter with law the choice which the conscience makes of its mode of adoring the eternal and adorable God. I cannot talk of toleration, because it supposes that a boon has been given to a human being, in allowing him to have his conscience free. (Cheers.) It was in that struggle, I said, that your fathers left England; and I rejoice to see an American from Boston; but I should be sorry to be contaminated by the touch of a man from those States where slavery is continued. (Cheers.) 'Oh,' said he, 'you are alluding to slavery; though I am no advocate for it, yet, if you will allow me, I will discuss that question with you.' I replied, that if a man should propose to me a discussion on the propriety of picking pockets, I would turn him out of my study, for fear he should carry his theory into practice. (Laughter and cheers.) 'And meaning you no sort of offence,' I added, 'which I cannot mean to a gentleman who does me the honor of paying me a civil visit, I would as soon discuss the one question with you as the other.' The one is a paltry theft:

'He that steals my purse, steals trash; 'tis something, nothing;
'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands'—but he who thinks he can vindicate the possession of one human being by another—the sale of soul and body—the separation of father and mother—the taking of the mother from the infant at her breast—and selling the one to one master, and the other to another, is a man whom I will not answer with words—nor with blows, for the time for the latter has not yet come. (Cheers.)

But there is a lie stamped on the Constitution of the United States: for when this country most unjustly and tyrannically oppressed its Colonies, and insisted that a Parliament of borough-mongers in Westminster should have the power of putting their long fingers across the Atlantic into the pockets of the Americans, taking out as much as they pleased, and, if they found anything, leaving what *residuum* they chose—America turned round, and appealed to JUSTICE—and she was right: appealed to HUMANITY—and she was right: appealed to her own brave swords—and she was right, and I glory in it. At that awful period when America was exciting all the nations of the world; when she was declaring her independence, and her inhabitants pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, and invoked the God of charity (whom they foolishly called the God of battle, which he is not, any more than he is the God of murder)—at this awful period when they laid the foundation of their liberty, they began with these words:—*'We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal: that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights: and that amongst these are LIFE, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness.'*

Thus the American has acknowledged what he cannot deny, viz. that God the Creator has endowed men with those things as inalienable rights. But it is not the white man, it is not the copper colored man, nor is it the black man alone, who is thus endowed; but it is *all* men who are possessed of these inalienable rights. The man, however, who cannot vote in any State assembly without admitting this as the foundation of his liberty, has the atrocious injustice, the murderous injustice, to trample upon these inalienable rights; as it were, to attempt to rob the Creator of his gifts, and to appropriate to himself his brother man, as if he could be his slave. (Cheers.) Shame be upon America! eternal shame be upon her escheatmen! (Loud cheers.)

Shortly there will not be a slave in the British Colonies. Five lines in an Act of Parliament, the other night, liberated nearly 500,000 slaves in the East Indies, at a single blow. The West Indians will be obliged to grant emancipation, in spite of the paltry attempts to prevent it; and then we will turn to America, and to every part of Europe, and require emancipation. (Cheers.) When an American comes into society, he will then be asked, 'Are you one of the thieves, or are you an honest man?' (Cheers.) If you be an honest man, then you have given liberty to your slaves; if you are among the thieves, the sooner you take the outside of the house, the better.' (Laughter.) No! they must not think that they can boast of their republican institutions—that they can talk of their strength and their glory. Unless they abolish slavery, they must write themselves down *liars*, or call a general Convention of the States, and blot out the first sentence of their Declaration of Independence, and write in its place, '*Liberty in America means the power to flog slaves, and to work them for nothing.*' (Loud applause.)

In the late contest between South Carolina and the General Government, I felt a natural inclination to join the oppressed State. I perceived that the tariff, for the protection of manufactures, was in principle a trap of the General Government to lay on taxation for the benefit of the free States (1)—that it was a solecism in politics; and though I could not agree with the nullification principle, so long as the Constitution left untried resources—such as calling a general Convention—yet, feeling the injustice of the tariff to the southern States, I felt an anxiety to be able to embody my opinions with theirs; especially as I was in-

(1) It is evident, from this avowal, that Mr. O'Connell does not accurately comprehend the legitimate powers of Congress, and that he is ignorant of the practical operations of the tariff in relation to the free and slave States. Nullification is not the fruit of *governmental* but of *southern despotism*. It is to be regretted that the Irish patriot has been led to the conclusion, even for a moment, that the charge of usurpation was justly applicable to Congress, and not to the despotic and seditious nullifiers themselves.

formed that my humble name would have some influence with the natives of Ireland, who swarmed through the American States, and who were inclined to support the General Government. I was, therefore, tempted to go as far as I could, in preventing them from sustaining injustice. But when I came to reflect that Carolina and Georgia were slave-owning States; that they had forbidden the blacks from approaching schools, or any persons from giving them literary instruction; nay, when I read laws prohibiting, upon the severest penalty, the teaching of the free people of color to read or write—when I saw those States shutting the door that stood between the light of science and the human mind, cutting off all opportunities of obtaining education, and especially by the best modes—by moral and religious instruction—I thought that, humble and insignificant as I was, my name was too good to be tarnished by lending it to States that were erecting a perpetual barrier against the diffusion of information. (Cheers.)

See what the nature of slavery is!—The negro is to be a slave; he is to live the whole of his life without hope; and then to die, also, without it, because he must die without a knowledge of the Redeemer. He is to work without recompense, and all his feelings, as well as his person, may be lacerated as his owner pleases. But that is not enough; for fear they should lose this horrible *property*, as they dare to call it, they interpose between a man and a knowledge of his Creator. (Hear, hear!) It is, therefore, in vain for the American to plead anything in excuse. (Applause.)

But then, when reflecting on this subject, I formerly had some consolation. I thought there were humane men in America, employed in mitigating these evils, and establishing the principles of universal emancipation. I heard of the Colony at Liberia; I read puffings of it in the newspapers; I saw, day after day, declarations of its importance towards liberating the slave. (Hear, hear.) I was waited upon by grave personages, who *appeared* to detest slavery as much as I did. They told me of the principles of the American Colonization Society—that it aimed at the destruction of slavery—and I took them at their words, and was glad to have another corps in the cause of humanity. I had not then read the real history, nor the real character of the Society; but you, Mr. Chairman, have enlightened me, and I thank you for it. I find one passage that answers my purpose, and I will refer you to the work from which I make the quotation. It will be found in the 3rd volume of the African Repository, page 107, and is in these words: '*It is no Abolition Society; it addresses, as yet, arguments to no master.*' What harm would it be to argue with the master? (Cheers.) What an admirable Society is this, that will not, for fear of offending the gentility of the master, tell him that he

ought not to have a slave! It is too polite for that. (A laugh.) And this is the Society that has the insolence to come before the British public, and represent itself as an instrument of humanity! (Hear, hear.) Words, it is said, break no bones; and what mischief could they do to these fellows by arguing with them? They might, to be sure, by showing them that they were neither honest men nor christians, make them sleep the worse until their consciences became case hardened. (Cheers.) '*And disavows with horror the idea of offering temptations to any slave*'—temptations to be free! to have a right to go with his wife and family where he pleases! to have a right to remain together, and to work for themselves, and not for any body else! (Cheers.) O! the poor Negro, who toils from rising sun to sundown; who labors in the cultivation of a crop, the profit of which he shall never reap; who comes home weary, and faint, and distressed, and heart sick, to find in his little hut creatures that are to run in the same career as himself—will they not tell him of the arrival of a period when his toil shall be at an end? will they not tell him of the love of Him who sustained creation's curse, that he might soften their pillow on the journey to the skies? O! no, not a word! (Cheers.) '*Offering temptations to any slave!*' They will have temptations enough! The voice of Europe will proclaim the slave's deliverance, and will say to him, '*SHED NO BLOOD, BUT TAKE CARE THAT YOUR BLOOD BE NOT SHED.*' '*Offering temptations to any slave!*' Why, I tell the American slave owner that he shall not have silence; for, humble as I am, and feeble as my voice may be, yet deafening the sound of the Western wave, and riding against the blast as thunder goes, it shall reach America, and tell the black man that the time of his emancipation is come, and the oppressor that the period of his injustice is terminated! (Cheers.) '*It denies the design of attempting emancipation, either partial or general.*' This is the Society we are called upon to support! We are told that men who can endure slavery, cannot endure freedom. The West Indians tell us that the moment the negroes get their freedom, that moment they will rebel. They do not rebel while they are tortured by the whip, but the instant you attempt to mitigate their sufferings, they will evince a disposition to rebellion. (Hear, hear.) The West Indians say, they will not have sudden emancipation; but this Society is worse—for, '*It denies the design of attempting emancipation, either partial or general.*'

Now, am I right in asking you to disclaim the agent of the American Colonization Society? In this country, the aristocracy and the oligarchy have got up an admirable scheme for transporting the peasants of England. They do not like to have them standing between 'the wind and their nobility'—a laugh

—and accordingly, you have the emigration scheme. The press has been teeming, for the last eight or ten years, with publications containing the most beautiful descriptions of Canada—just as if no man can enjoy health who is not six months out of the twelve in the snow, and as if going into the woods and wiles of a desert is better than inhabiting the great towns of England! (Laughter and cheers.) You read of parishes every day, transporting Englishmen for the crime of being poor; and the American Colonization Society is taking up the same principle. 'We have done injustice,' it says, 'to the black man—we are doing injustice to him—shall we now do him justice? O, no; we will transport him to Africa!' That is just the scheme they have got up. (Cheers.)

The American Colonization Society has been branded with many names already. There is, however, one which it has not yet received, but which it richly deserves. I knew a gentleman, of an imaginative mind, who went out to Sierra Leone; and on his return, he told a friend of mine that a cargo of bars of iron, which had been sent to that Colony, was found, after it had lain in a store two months, to be completely *worm eaten*. (Laughter.) 'Why,' said my friend, 'what kind of worms eat iron?' 'Oh,' said he, 'they were as like bugs as any worms you can see.' My friend, who had a little Irish drollery about him, remarked, 'We have bugs of that kind in Ireland, but we call them *hum-bugs*.' (Loud cheers.) Now, the American Colonization Society is a bug of that description—it is a *new one*. (Renewed and long continued cheers.) It will eat iron like anything; it will digest it like an ostrich; there is nothing too hard for the stomach of the American Colonization Society. (Cheers.) *It is the most ludicrous Society that ever yet was dreamed of.* Am I to be told that my talented and reverend friend, (the Rev. Mr. PARLI,) who stood where I stand, and became the advocate of the rights of his own race—the man who would draw the veil of humanity over the crimes of others—is to be persecuted on account of his sable hue? It reminds me of an anecdote respecting the celebrated Burckhardt, who, in the course of his travels, penetrated into the depths of Abyssinia. In the heart of that country he went to market, where he met a young woman—of course perfectly black—who had a basket of eggs for sale. The moment she saw the white man, she exclaimed, 'How ugly! The devil! the devil!' (A laugh.) She dropped her basket, broke her eggs, and ran away at the sight of a white man. There is no reason for removing the negro from America but his color; and I wish the Colonization Society may meet with a few black girls, (1) who will exclaim regarding it and which they may do with more propriety)

as the black girl did with respect to Burckhardt—*'The devil! the devil!'* (Cheers.)

I told you that there was, in my native music, a mixture of melancholy and of joy—that when sorrow saddens our minds, there is a revulsion in favor of nobler sentiments—and I trust that revulsion is seldom or never mixed with any other feelings than those which soothe that sorrow, and advance that principle, which would extinguish it for ever. (Cheers.)

By my humble advocacy here, I come before the British public to tell them of a wretched delusion—of a scheme, which, instead of emancipating the slave, would transport him from that which has become his native clime to a distant colony, without the party having been guilty of any crime. I come to proclaim the absurdity of giving credit to men who are not for emancipation, either partial or general. I come to stop the ever open hand of charity, which, when appealed to in this country, pours out the horn of plenty in aid of the wretched and distressed, no matter what their clime may be. I wish not to have it deluded or mistaken: I wish to have it directed to a proper object—the object of obtaining liberty for every one of the human race. As we have now arrived at a period when the Gentoo in India is about to have a Government that shall cease to be terrific; as we have arrived at a period when the first effort in civilization is making for hundreds of millions of the inhabitants of that country who are entrusted to our care; I trust our exertions, on behalf of the black man in the East Indies, will be like the stream that flows from one of my own native mountains, which, though insignificant and trivial at the commencement, as it descends the mountain unites with other springs, until in the valley it spreads itself abroad, diffusing beauty and fertility to every approaching object. (Cheers.) The words I throw out here may be instrumental in forming a Society in this country, which shall see that the East, as well as the West Indies have justice done them; and as future ages will trumpet forth the glory of the Anti-Slavery Society in this country, so another Anti-Slavery Society, springing up as another mighty oak of the same stock, may shed its branches over the American Indians, and work for the black man there, as we have worked for him in the West Indies. As we, by an act of justice, are striking off the fetters from 800,000 of our fellow creatures; so, in the name of justice, I stand before you, as arraigning America for her crime in perpetuating slavery, and as arraigning, above all, the American Colonization Society, as ludicrous and absurd, and as diverting from their legitimate course those streams of benevolence which flow around us in such munificent splendor. The voice of humanity will laud your exertions, and I fervently hope that the God of justice will smile upon your efforts. (Long continued cheers.)

(1) The Colonization Society has already met with the hands of such girls.

The learned gentleman concluded by moving the following resolution:

Resolved, That the colonization of the free people of color of the United States in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient, has ever been the fundamental principle of the American Colonization Society; that the abolition of slavery has never been an object of the Society; but that, on the contrary, the security of slave property has always been the governing motive, and that the decrease of manumissions, under the influence of the principles of the Society, proves its efficiency for that purpose.

Capt. CHARLES STUART in rising said—I second the resolution which has been proposed for your adoption with my whole soul: it commends itself to your understandings and your hearts. I will merely add one word to what has been already advanced. I call upon you to denounce both slavery and prejudice,—that prejudice which separates men of any class or color from brotherly love. Slavery and prejudice are crimes in the nature of things, and therefore we must not parley with them. (Cheers.)

Mr. H. HUNT (1) rose and said—As one of the public who have been called together by a public advertisement, I trust I shall not be considered as intruding, if I occupy a short time in delivering a few remarks.

I listened with great delight to what fell from the honorable member from Dublin, (Mr. O'CONNELL,) and in the greater proportion of what he so eloquently and successfully enforced, I concur with him; but I am also one of those who agree in opinion with the last gentleman, that it is a little too much to call upon the British public, in an assembly so intelligent as this, to denounce at once the American Colonization Society, without your having permitted the person who appears here as an advocate of that Society to urge his reasons why you should not pass the resolution. Gratified as I am, and delighted as every one must be, to see such a numerous assemblage of the friends of humanity, particularly of the Society called Quakers, present on this occasion; yet I was astonished to see an individual, who professes to come to explain to the meeting, if he can, why you should not pass such a denunciation against the Colonization Society, resisted as he was. I, for one, am always proud to meet the British public, and I hope I shall not be guilty of any ingratitude for the favor I now receive: but, I ask, what will be the sensation that will go forth, if you come here to pass certain resolutions, declaring that a Society is not established for the purpose it avows; and will not permit an individual to be heard, who comes and demands an opportunity of addressing the meeting, with the view of showing why they should not agree to the resolution?

You were perfectly right, Mr. Chairman—I am well enough acquainted with public meetings to say, that you were justified in not al-

lowing the gentleman to address the meeting at the period when he offered himself. It was out of order; but after the resolution had been moved and seconded, before it was submitted to the sanction of the meeting, I appeal to you and to the meeting, whether you will have it go forth to the world that thousands of intelligent individuals prohibited a gentleman from standing up in a cause, in which he may think he is justified, and put him down altogether? (Applause.) I am one—

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. rose to order. Mr. HUNT's observations, he said, would have been spared, had he waited to see whether the gentleman was rejected or not. It was arranged, before Mr. HUNT favored us with his address, that the meeting, and the meeting alone, should decide whether the gentleman should be heard or not. He (Mr. HUNT) is fond enough of the public voice to be decided by it.

Mr. HUNT—I think it would be totally unbecoming to put such a question to the meeting: it was totally unusual. (General cries of "order!" and hisses.)

The CHAIRMAN—I have no objection to hear him: we have been desirous to hear both sides. I only mentioned what I conceive to be the arrangement of the meeting.

Mr. O'CONNELL.—Mr. HUNT will not pay so had a compliment to the meeting as to suppose that they will decide against fair play, and refuse to hear both sides.

Mr. HUNT.—I understood it was decided that the gentleman should not address the meeting, till after the resolutions were passed.

Mr. J. G. EVANS said—The Chairman rose, and was on the point of putting the resolution, when it was stated that Mr. ABRAHAMs would not have the privilege of speaking till the resolutions were disposed of. I beg to say that we have had five speakers, who have occupied three hours and a half on the same side. Although I am favorable to the object of the meeting, and a gentleman has done me the honor to put a resolution into my hand, on which I shall feel happy to say a few words; yet I never can, in my conscience, stand up in any meeting to advocate the cause of any Society, where on one side we have speakers for three hours and a half, and when a man rises to speak on the contrary side, the Chairman stands up and will not allow him to address the assembly.

The CHAIRMAN.—The question I was going to put to the meeting was, whether they would hear the gentleman. I have no objection to hear him.

The Rev. Mr. ABRAHAMs (1) then proceed-

(1) A converted Jew, who was at the Theological Seminary at Andover a few years since, and with whom many are doubtless acquainted in this region. He is apparently a very good, well-meaning person but weak and eccentric.

(1) The notorious radical.

ed to address the audience. I came here, said he, because at the end of the last meeting, (1) the gentleman who has got up so frequently, (Mr. THOMPSON,) in very taunting language asked me and Mr. Cresson to meet him at a public meeting. I had no card sent to me, though he knew my direction; and now I have come, this is the treatment I have met with. When a meeting was held, on the contrary side, gentlemen were permitted to speak on every single motion; and now you have had five successive speakers in the same interest.

There is another difficulty that I would wish to remove, before I enter on the subject under consideration. A gentleman introduced me as a friend of slavery—[We did not hear this remark—*Reporter*.] I abhor it with my inmost soul. I am a descendant of a nation once in bondage, but God would not suffer us to remain in that condition. A wrong mode of expression has been adopted, in speaking of America: you must remember that you are not condemning a few solitary individuals. You stand here as the representative of the British nation; (2) and let me tell you that if you pass the resolution that has been proposed for your acceptance, you say before the world that the major part of America is guilty of the most atrocious crimes, and you impute motives to the Ecclesiastical bodies that would disgrace the worst of heathen.

I am acquainted individually with the ministers of a variety of denominations, and I can state that in the Northern States they do altogether abhor slavery. I have myself used language fully as strong as that which the honorable member from Dublin, (Mr. O'CONNELL,) has employed on the present occasion. So strong is the feeling in favor of emancipation entertained in the Northern States, that if you could go there and pronounce the blacks free, they would add a hearty amen. (3) I believe it is not right for us to do evil that good may come; and as a Christian, if I had a slave, I should feel that I could not die safely if I continued him in bondage. But yet I cannot impugn the motives of hundreds of thousands of Christians, when I have strong evidence of their being Christian men. Before you should be hasty in forming an opinion, you must remember that there are seventeen State Societies supporting the American Colonization Society—that the principal Ecclesiastical body—for instance, the Presbyterian,—has in a General Assembly passed a vote in favor of

it; and so have the Episcopal and Methodist bodies; and they have done it in public, and not through the efforts of influential individuals. (1) Do you believe, then, as Christians that these men deliberately wish to keep their fellow-creatures in slavery? You are the first abolitionists in the world; but remember it, all you that are the advocates of the cause of the black, that if you pass this vote, you may have the same charge brought home to your door. In Massachusetts and the different free States, they have liberated their slaves, and passed acts by which all who are born after a certain day shall be free; and if their motives may be impugned, your motives, Mr. THOMPSON, may be of the worst description, instead of the best. I believe your motives are good, and I cannot charge my fellow-subjects in America with entertaining motives that are bad. If there be any opportunity of seeing an individual in his real character, it occurs when you see him in private; and I can say, from an eight years' study of the character of my brethren in America, that they do in their souls abhor slavery—

Mr. GARRISON—In the abstract. (A laugh.)

Mr. ABRAHAMS.—In the abstract—but they go farther. I affirm that it has been granted throughout America, that Mr. S. J. MILLS was the originator of this institution, (2) and I am bold to aver that he died in the cause of doing good to Africa while on his return from a part of the African coast. I know his father, and have been in company with him; and I ask, is the motive of a Christian man, a man born on the hills of Massachusetts, who breathes the air of liberty, and a descendant of those who shed their blood on Bunker Hill, to be impugned? I am bound to say that the missionaries and ministers educated at the Seminary at Andover abhor slavery. If you inquire into the history of that part, you will find that missionaries have gone to every quarter of the world from Andover; and you will find that it is only individuals born there, who have gone for missionaries.

Now, allow me to make another remark, before I prove that the American Colonization Society will tend to put down slavery in every part of the world. It has been stated that the great friends of the slave in this country

(1) All this is true. 'It is undeniable that the popularity of the Society is immense: but if it be a benevolent institution, and exercise a wide and powerful moral influence, and is thus popular, how does it happen that no change, but for the worse, has taken place in the legal condition of the people of color, or in public sentiment?' How is it, too, that only one thousand slaves have been emancipated by it in sixteen years, while more than six hundred thousand have been added to the slave population during the same period?

(2) News!—The colonization bantling is a child of at least 'thirty-six fathers.' At Mr. Cresson's meeting, this same Mr. Abrahams stoutly contended that the Colonization Society originated at Andover, in the Theological Institution!!

(1) Referring to Mr. Cresson's meeting at the Hanover-square Room.

(2) Where, then, was Mr. Elliott Cresson, that he did not come to the meeting (as he was bound to do) and vindicate the Society of which he was the representative? He was false to his trust.

(3) Just the reverse—they are not so rash and factitious as to desire immediate emancipation!

abhor the plan of the Colonization Society. A letter has been quoted, a copy of which I have had from Mr. BRECKENRIDGE, showing that Mr. CLARKSON is a friend to the institution. I have also a statement in its favor, drawn up by a lady who has travelled much on behalf of the slaves. Mr. WILBERFORCE, till lately, spoke highly of Mr. Elliott Cresson, and said that he was engaged in a truly disinterested labor of love. (1)

Mr. GARRISON enquired what were the dates of the two letters which Mr. Abrahams held in his hand.

Mr. ABRAHAM said that one (from Thomas Clarkson) was dated the 9th August, 1831; the other (from the anonymous lady) July 7th, 1833. [Several persons wished the name of the lady to be given, but Mr. Abrahams objected, assuring the Chairman that she was a lady well known to him.]

If you ask me, continued the Rev. gentleman, to state on what grounds I am favorable to the American Colonization Society, I will do so; but I must first state one fact, in reference to the charge that the friends of the institution have acted in such a manner that they can no longer do good in America. When I arrived at Boston, ten years ago, there was hardly an African School in that city; but before I left, public opinion had so much weight that schools were formed, the expenses of which were to be paid by the public, the same as in the case of schools for the white children. (2) When I arrived at Hartford, there was no school; but through the friends of this Society, schools were opened. When I was at New York, I was employed by a lady, a friend of the Society, to get up the first negro school in the world. (3) One of the most powerful writers in America (4) has employed his pen to remove the prejudices which exist against the people of color. Thus, it is not true that the friends of the American Colonization Society are the enemies of the blacks. I was originally the child of prejudice; I therefore know what it is, and I can enter into the feelings of the poor black when he says that the whites are his enemies. I know that a length of time must elapse; that a great variety of actions, and those of the most humane description, must pass under your observation, before you can believe that an enemy has become your friend. From my experience, however, I do believe that the friends of the Colonization Society are the

real friends of the free people of color in America; and whatever other men may say, I can clearly point out how this Society will be the means of putting an end to slavery all over the world.

You may arrange all the slaves in the world under the following classes—those in the English possession, which, I hope, in a few days we shall no longer speak of as slaves; those in America; those in Spain and Portugal; and a few in the possession of France and Denmark. The effect of our measure of emancipation is such, that I think I can nearly see its results in France, where I hope slavery will soon be put down by the voice of public opinion. But in America, there is a very different state of things; there are men who feel that slavery is wickedness, and they wish the evil to be removed; there are others who also hate it, but at the same time they have got, as they call it, the law in their own hands, and the only way to deal with such men is to make it their interest to let the slaves go. (1) I do not ask you, whether the slaves should be sent to Africa; but I say, give them a colony—let them cultivate it, and they will be able to sell things cheaper than the slaveholder—the consequence of which will be the destruction of slavery. In Virginia, there is no other production than tobacco; and it cannot contend with the free States, in the cultivation of grain. We must also remember that Virginia and Maryland are nearly worn out, so that there is an immense quantity of land uncultivated even in the neighborhood of Baltimore. Now, my first object would be, to send men who are willing to go—not force them, no real friend of liberty would wish that—I have never met with a North American who would advocate such a sentiment (2)—but I say, send men to Africa, where we have a fertile land, and we may bring a sufficient quantity of tobacco into the market to make us beat the slaveholder. (A laugh.) Then, the next article is cotton. The best cotton is grown near the sea upon certain sandy grounds. Providence has raised up plenty of such soil in Africa; and if we were to send men to raise cotton, we could soon sell it at a price that would enable us to beat down the market. (3) Having thus taken away the trade in tobacco and cotton, there is nothing remain-

(1) Give us the proof:—and suppose the assertion true, it only shows that Mr. Cresson was favorably regarded by Mr. Wilberforce until the mask of deception was torn from his brow.

(2) This is another discovery!

(3) This was to be 'the first negro school in the world,' and yet long before schools had been established for colored youth in Boston!!

(4) Who is he?

(1) Excellent!—Those who hate slavery have 'got the law in their own hands,' and yet—and yet—the only way to deal with such men is to make it their interest to let the slaves go!!

(2) O no! not for worlds!

(3) Here is the perfection of wisdom!—First, the slaveholders are to assist in sending laborers to Liberia that they may thus exclude themselves from the market by the superior industry of their Liberian rivals; Congress is to grant a free admission of African products into this country to the certain ruin of the planters!!—A Daniel, yea, a Daniel! come to judgment!!

ing for the slaveholders but sugar, and there is only one little corner in America (Louisiana and a part of Florida) where this article is cultivated. This is the only commodity, against which we shall not have a free production to oppose; but the time, I hope, has arrived when freedom will be conferred on the West Indies, and thus we shall be enabled to drive the American sugar out of the market. You may say this is far fetched, (a laugh)—but we have an example to encourage us in the case of indigo, which, a few years ago, was a staple article in Asia, but is now cultivated to a high degree in Africa, where we have one of the richest soils on the face of the earth.

I see plainly how this scheme would result in the liberation of all the rest of the slaves on the face of the earth, but we have another glorious motive; for it is said, 'Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God;' and as a Christian, I am waiting with great anxiety for that event. Seeing this is the case, I am peculiarly anxious that men who know the gospel, and who love it, should go to Africa, and should not be prevented by a quibble. The Society has selected the best men it could get (1) to form a foundation, upon the same principle that the descendants of the Puritans went to New England, and there formed the foundation of a colony. (Laughter, and ironical cries of 'hear! hear!') They are sending the best men to lay a proper foundation, and afterwards *there will be an opening for men of not such good morals.* After all that has been stated, the laws of America in the Northern States do not so much hinder black men from rising in civilization. It is true, there are prejudices against them, and their education has been neglected. Although I love the black man, I cannot help stating a fact, and that is, that in the prisons there are a large proportion of poor black people, perhaps brought there from the want of a proper cultivation when young. If they had enjoyed the society that we do, perhaps they would have been better; and therefore I say, bring them to a place where they will have equal rights and equal privileges.

Now, if the broad statements made by one of the gentlemen who has addressed you be correct, men forming the Ecclesiastical bodies in America, and the legislatures of seventeen free States, who have voted in favor of this Society, are in favor of bringing down the greatest curse that ever afflicted the human race. Men of such a nation are not worthy to be heard; if Christians could act from such motives, I would shake them off—I would deny that they had the name of Christ; but I know them better—I know that their views are not

opposed to the interests of the negroes in the least degree, though the poor blacks may think they are. The good men in America have been acquainted with all the forms of prejudice that surround the blacks in America; they have been grieved to find that every mode adopted to remove it has proved abortive; (1) and they have taken this step with a view to promote the welfare of the negroes. Now, if you differ from them, are you right, by a public declaration, in pronouncing that the major part of the American nation, as represented in the Legislative assemblies and by the Ecclesiastical bodies, are men unworthy of the Christian name? I say, as Christian people, if you have any kindly feelings of heart towards America, pause before you brand the friends of Christ, as the friends of slavery.

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. rose and said—I humbly contend that the honorable gentleman who has last addressed you, has not overturned one syllable of the reasoning which has been so ably submitted to you. All you have got to decide upon, with reference to this institution, is, that the colonization of the free people of color, either upon the coast of Africa or some other spot which shall be chosen by Congress, is the sole motive which influences the American Colonization Society. It is shown, not by the gentleman near me, (Mr. Garrison,) but by the Society's own documents, which have been read to-day, and which cannot be contended against, unless the gentleman who has been upholding their character intends to knock that character down. By these documents, you have to decide, whether the colonizing of the free people of color be their object: that is the point of the present resolution, and unless gentlemen are going to show that this is not their object, they should reserve themselves for a resolution which will come before the meeting presently, referring to the origin and to the managers of the Society. (Applause.)

MR. O'CONNELL said—I do not mean to inflict another speech upon you, (A laugh,) but I feel it my duty to say, that the gentleman who came forward with so much pomp has not denied one word in the passage which I quoted. He does not even assert that the Colonization Society is for immediate emancipation. The only point he has overturned, was the story of the hugs—(Cheers)—for he has proved that the Colonization Society is to emancipate all the slaves in America. The old story is, that there is nothing like *leather*, (Laughter,) but his story is, that there is nothing like *cotton*; and he will emancipate all the slaves, as soon as he has cotton plantations enough in Africa! (Laughter and cheers.)

(1) 'An influx of vagrants'—'the lowest and most abandoned of their class'—'by far the greater number women and children, a burden on the agency'—&c. &c. (Vide Gov. Mecklin's Letter, African Repository for Dec. 1832.)

(1) Pray what is the 'mode' that has been adopted by these 'good men' to remove prejudice from the United States? Let New Haven and Canterbury answer!

MR. HUNT again rose and said—Although I believe that the gentleman who just now sat down, (MR. ABRAHAM,) has not convinced one gentleman in the room, yet he has convinced me that we are a very improper assembly to decide upon the question brought before us. He has convinced me that this is a question between two contending parties. If the point at issue were, whether slavery should be put down immediately in America, and all over the world, we could sit in judgment upon it, and doubtless should be unanimous in our decision. But after having an assertion made, that this Society is not intended to emancipate slaves, but has some sinister motive, and then a gentleman gets up and denies that assertion, I think we are not a competent assembly to decide upon it; and, therefore, I will take the liberty of moving a resolution, that I think will have the effect you intended, without committing the meeting by pledging itself as to the character of the institution. In submitting the resolution, I shall offer but a few words; for it is short, and will speak for itself. I regret that the people of England should be discussing, whether a certain Society is intended to emancipate a portion of the blacks or not. I am sorry we should have gone so far from home, and passed by what is occurring at our doors. The meeting has listened with great attention to the gentleman who first addressed it, and also to the gentleman of color who spoke with so much effect, and we have all listened with great delight to what fell from the honorable member for Dublin, as we always must. If I could, for a moment, differ with any portion of that speech, it would not be with its principles; but I think it is not good policy to abuse the whole of the American people for the acts of a few. (Hisses.) That is my opinion. I shall, therefore, now beg to move a resolution, if any gentleman will second it for me. I think we shall retire to our homes with greater satisfaction in having declared our opinion of a principle, rather than condemned a body of men, many of whom, although they may be in the greatest error, may nevertheless be as honest in their intentions as any amongst us. The resolution is this: 'That this meeting is of opinion that the agitation of the West Indian question is likely to entail an additional £20,000,000 of debt, and that the agitation of the American Colonization scheme would, in all probability, risk a war with America.' (Loud laughter, and cries of 'Oh! oh! off! off!') I do not mean that the agitation of this question in so small an assembly as this, will have any such effect; but if the whole country should be disposed to agitate it, I submit whether it would not be likely to cause a war with America. (A laugh.) 'And that the agitation of the Colonization scheme would in all probability risk a war with America; whilst, if humanity is really the object of the meeting, there is at

the present moment a glorious opportunity for its exercise in the case of the poor factory children of this country, without going abroad in search of proper objects.' As for myself, I will not attempt to describe, in contradiction to what we have heard of the horrors of black slavery, the horrors of white slavery in our factories. I see a gentleman present, who, if he will do me the honor to second the resolution, will be able to speak on that subject more efficiently than I can. (A laugh.) I only regret that mitigating the slavery of factory children should have elicited from this assembly a laugh. (Hisses.)

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. said—I will second the resolution, for the purpose of getting rid of it. I submit, whether a British assembly is so 'one-eyed' that it must take off its eye from the sufferings of the negro, to fix its sympathies upon the tears of the white man? (Cheers.)

A GENTLEMAN rose to support the resolution, but

MR. O'CONNELL, with considerable warmth, said—The cause of the factory children is one that is dear to every friend of humanity. I pity the man that can make it the subject of mockery or ridicule—that can attempt to bring it in, by way of a side wind. Why does he not call a public meeting on it? (Cheers.) And any where, where I have a voice or vote, it shall be in favor of the abolition of cruelty to the factory children. I will not, therefore, sit here, and have their situation put forward as a kind of overturning of another great principle. We meet here upon the subject of black slavery, and if the humble gentleman will wait till we have passed our resolutions, we will then pass a resolution for him—I think unanimously. My opinion shall be most decidedly with him, or with any gentleman who comes forward to protect these slaves: but that is no reason why we should be diverted from our present purpose. Every body knows that in business, one thing should be done at a time, or you will do nothing. He who loads a blunderbuss with fifty slugs, is sure to fire at nothing, *and hit it*, as the Comaught man did. (Cheers and laughter.) My voice will never be raised up against our poor factory children under 10 years of age; and I submit that as it is not in the nature of an amendment, he should reserve it till the resolution is put. He (MR. HUNT) really treats us worse than the Colonization Society treats the masters. I read a passage, in which it was stated that the Society addressed no arguments to the master; and I am sure that gentleman (MR. ABRAHAM) is very fit to address no arguments to you; (a laugh)—and I appeal to his (MR. HUNT'S) humanity, whether one great object is to be blotted out and obliterated, by the holding up of a second candle when one is light enough for the present occasion. Let us have our own resolution first, and the new

light of the honorable gentleman afterwards. (Cheers.)

Mr. HUNT rose to explain.—The honorable gentleman, said he, is an old soldier, but I am an old soldier too; and I am not quite to be put down by misrepresentation. I stated that I was as great an enemy to slavery, as any man living; and if the question were the abolition of slavery in America, in the West Indies, and every other place, I should assent to it without difficulty. But this is nothing more than a declaration, calling upon the meeting to declare, whether a Society has the object in view which it professes. Here is a gentleman who will second my resolution.

Mr. THOMPSON—I have seconded it.

Mr. HUNT exclaimed, with great vehemence—He is a sham seconder. (Loud laughter.)

The resolution of Mr. HUNT was then put, and unanimously negatived, and the original resolution carried by acclamation.

The Rev. Mr. ABRAHAM moved that the word *sole* should be omitted in the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN—You are too late, Sir; the resolution is carried.

Mr. O'CONNELL.—He might as well move to leave out the *body*. (Laughter.)

The resolution proposed by Mr. O'CONNELL was carried unanimously.

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. in rising to move the second resolution said:

Sir, before I address myself immediately to the Resolution which I have the honor to submit to this respectable meeting, I must claim permission to comment, for a moment, upon what I cannot but designate a cruel and heartless attempt to withdraw our minds from the contemplation of a vast amount of misery inflicted upon 2,000,000 of our fellow beings by the wickedness of man, by directing our attention to the existence of partial and home wretchedness which I am sure we all deplore, and are desirous of mitigating. (Hear, hear.) I will again remind the honorable gentleman (Mr. Hunt) who has acted this unworthy part, of what he seems to have forgotten,—although pressed upon his observation year after year,—that the best friends of suffering humanity at home have ever been the warm and sympathetic friends of suffering humanity abroad. (Cheers.) If he will take his walks along the paths of benevolence and mercy love to linger, that they may minister comfort and assistance to the miserable, the destitute, and the bereaved, he will find those ministering spirits to be those who have been the readiest to devote their energies to the glorious work of universal emancipation. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Our honorable opponent has, on other occasions, committed the same offence against honor and good breeding. Instead of calling meetings of his own, to denounce the wrongs and wretchedness of our unfortunate factory children, and thus aiming to do the work he pretends to love properly and efficient-

ly, he satisfies himself with attending anti-slavery meetings, and seeking to divert the attention of the British public from the slavery of the West Indies or the United States, by a reference to the oppressed circumstances of a portion of our juvenile population at home. (Hear, hear.) I must confess, I like not the man whose vision is so circumscribed that he cannot see or feel it to be his duty to send his regards beyond the narrow circle of his own neighborhood. Had he chosen the motto of our esteemed friend, Mr. GARRISON, 'My country is the world, my countrymen are all mankind,' he would not have been found to-day among those who would thwart the honest and philanthropic purposes of our heart, nor have him self been doomed to see a resolution of his own unanimously discarded with indignation and disgust. (Loud cheers.) But the gentleman says he is the enemy of black slavery! Believe it—because he says so—but that you may believe it, never glance at his deeds. Believe him for his *honor*; for actions he has none to shew, to prove his hatred of the deed. (Loud cheers.) Was it fair in the gentleman, ignorant as he is of the first principles of the great question upon which our minds are engaged,—ignorant of all the documents upon which we have proceeded,—to attempt to overthrow our proceedings?—(Hear, hear.) Does he know that only a week ago last Wednesday, a public meeting was held for the purpose of forming a British African Colonization Society, for the settlement of free persons of color or their descendants? Does he know, besides, that this meeting is convened for the purpose, amongst other things, of exposing the real object sought in the formation of that Society? I believe, Sir, the gentleman is utterly ignorant of all these matters; and I will therefore venture, with your permission, to inform him and this meeting of the manner in which this bold and impudent trick was played off.

The Society I have referred to proposes to be a *Barrish* (mind! *British*) African Colonization Society, to effect the following purposes:—1st. To humanize and civilize the rude inhabitants of Western Africa, and introduce commerce and the arts of polished life. 2nd. To extend the knowledge and influence of the Christian religion; and 3rdly. To effect the abolition of the Slave Trade.

Now, Sir, it is specially worthy of notice, that the persons who, above all others, were most likely to feel a deep and lasting interest in the accomplishment of purposes so high and holy, as those which I have specified—if those purposes were to be achieved by holy and honorable means—were none of them invited to the meeting, otherwise than by an advertisement in the public papers. Nay, more—when a few of them appeared in the room where the meeting was held, though among them was one of the oldest, ablest and

sincerest of the friends of Africa, Mr. MACAULAY, (cheers,) they were regarded as persons likely to frustrate the design of the projectors, and were designated, by the Chairman and others upon the platform, as factions disturbers. *Not one of the leading friends of Africa, or the abolition of slavery, was invited to take a part in the proceedings of that day*: though it was held at a time most favorable to their attendance, viz: when they were in London from all parts of the Kingdom, on purpose to watch the interests of the black man in the British Parliament. Who, then, called the meeting?—An *American*! (Hear, hear.) Who ended that meeting? An *American*! What was the *real object* of that meeting, as disclosed in the last resolution? That England should co-operate with America in transporting her colored population.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM—No, not *transporting*.

Mr. THOMPSON—Sir, I readily grant the word *transportation* was not introduced; but there lies the wilful error—there is the deceitfulness of sin—there is the subtlety of Satan. (Loud cheers.) Now, Sir, when we consider that that meeting was called by an *American*—that from its proceedings were carefully excluded every known and influential friend to the abolition of slavery and the civilization of Africa—that when a few of the friends of Africa went to that meeting, they were treated as opponents—that those friends, without an exception, felt themselves constrained to oppose the proceedings of that meeting—and when, lastly, although the Chairman had again and again declared that it had *nothing whatever to do with the American Colonization Society*, the only thing absolutely proposed to be done by the Society was to *co-operate with the American Colonization Society*. I am quite sure that the whole affair will appear in the eyes of a candid public as a mean, dishonorable and impudent attempt to decoy the benevolent inhabitants of this country into co-partnership with a Society, whose principles are so unsound that whenever alluded to by myself on the day of the above meeting, I was invariably checked by the Chairman, and re-proved for wandering from the object of the meeting.

My friend, the honorable member for Sheffield, (Mr. BUCKINGHAM,) must excuse me if I say, that the ground he assigned for supporting this new Society was nothing like that of the gentleman behind me, (Mr. ABRAHAM.) The latter gentleman's argument was all *cotton*. (A laugh.) Cotton was the Alpha and Omega of his speech. The planting of cotton trees in Africa is to work the destruction of slavery in the United States. (A laugh.) The argument of my friend, the member for Sheffield, is based upon the possibility of a superabundant free colored population in our own Colonies. Looking through the vista of future ages, he thinks he perceives it *possible* that

there may be an overgrown population of blacks in our dependencies, and deems it exceedingly wise to found a British African Colonization Society in the year 1833, that three or four millions of years subsequently we may be able to send our redundant colored brethren to the land of their ancestors. (Loud laughter.) Now, to shew how very early must be the arrival of that period when it will be necessary to transport—I beg pardon—*induce* to emigrate, our free colored population, I may observe that in the island of Jamaica alone, with a population at present of 400,000 inhabitants, there are millions of acres which the axe has never cleared, which the spade has never delved, and which the industry and ingenuity of man have never made contributory to his wants. (Cheers.) There are, in our Colonies, resources of subsistence and wealth for a population infinitely larger than that which at present exists in them; and who so worthy to avail themselves of those resources as those who have either in their own persons, or the persons of their forefathers, endured the rigor of an unjust bondage for the wealth and aggrandizement of the whites? (Loud cheers.) It is well known that a great many of the horrors of slavery take their rise in the smallness of the slave population, which induces the needy and rapacious planter to overwork his slaves, and apply those coercive measures which have proved so fatal to their happiness, elevation and existence. (Hear, hear.) A West Indian gentleman, now upon this platform, is prepared to show that the more rational plan would be to promote emigration from the United States to our Colonies, and that it is the climax of human absurdity to establish a Society for colonizing Africa, when years, ages, and centuries must elapse, ere we can hope to find colored men to give operation, and effort, and accomplishment to the scheme. (Hear, hear.)

What, then, is it our duty to do on this occasion? Why, to denounce the American Colonization Society as the enemy to the elevation and prosperity of the people of color in the United States—as the friend and supporter of Slavery. It is our duty to regard that Society as the hateful bantling of a fiend-like prejudice, and boldly to tell brother Jonathan that if he thinks, *by means of an agent with a face of brass*, to dupe us out of any more of our money, he is mistaken; that we will speedily send his base metal away, and keep our own precious coin for worthier and nobler purposes. (Laughter and cheers.)

A preceding speaker (Mr. ABRAHAM) has said that the principle of the Society is 'coluntary emigration.' Is he, then, ignorant that the honorable Mr. Broadnax, of Virginia, rose in the House of Delegates of that State, and contended that force was absolutely necessary to the accomplishment of their object; and to talk of finding emigrants without compul-

tion was a gross absurdity? That this meeting may be in possession of the views entertained by the people of color upon this subject, I will take the liberty of quoting their own words in various public meetings held throughout the United States. In Philadelphia, at a meeting held January, 1817, they thus speak:

Resolved, That we view with deep abhorrence the numbered stigma attempted to be cast upon the reputation of the free people of color, by the promoters of this measure, "that they are a dangerous and useless part of community," when in the state of disfranchisement in which they live, in the hour of danger they ceased to remember their wrongs, and rallied around the standard of their country?

Resolved, That we never will separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population in this country; (Cheers)—they are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering, and of wrong; and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them, than in fancied advantages for a season. (Cheers.)

The free colored people of New-York thus speak out their sentiments:

Resolved, That we view the resolution, calling on the worshippers of Christ to assist in the unholy crusade against the colored population of this country, as totally at variance with true christian principles?

Resolved, That we claim this country, the place of our birth, and not Africa, as our mother country, and all attempts to send us to Africa we consider gratuitous and unrecalled for? (Cheers.)

Sir, the gentleman who has this day spoken in favor of the Colonization Society, has more than once called himself one of the descendants of Abraham. Now, Sir, we all know that his brethren in this country labor under many and heavy disabilities, and that at this moment strenuous efforts are being made in the House of Commons to effect their civil emancipation; efforts which I hope and trust may be crowned with complete success. But, Sir, what would that descendant of Abraham think of me, if, instead of giving my voice and vote to raise them to their rightful station in this the land of their nativity, I were to address myself to his injured brethren and to him, and say, 'You are a dangerous and useless part of community—this is not your home or country—away to the deserts of Arabia, or the mountains of Palestine—there, in the land of your ancestors, be free and happy—or pine and perish, for you shall not pollute these shores?'—and, then, were to come forward, and claim the regard of my countrymen and mankind for having done an act of enlightened justice and humanity? (Loud cheers.)

What are the sentiments of the colored inhabitants of Boston? Hear them:

Resolved, That we consider the land in which we were born, and in which we have been bred, our only true and appropriate home?—and that when we desire to remove, we will apprise the public of the same in the season? (Cheers.)

I am rejoiced, Sir, to find my countrymen respond so warmly to sentiments like these.

Such language as I have read, is the true and natural language of reason, patriotism and independence; and he who cannot approve such language, is a being who loves liberty only as the instrument of tyranny, and deserves to lose the blessing which his selfishness and hateful despotism will not allow him to share with those around him. (Loud cheers.)

What say the inhabitants of New-Haven?

Resolved, That we will resist all attempts made for our removal to the torrid shores of Africa, and will sooner suffer every drop of blood to be taken from our veins than submit to such unrighteous treatment? (Cheers.)

Resolved, That we know of no other place that we can call our true and appropriate home excepting these United States, into which our fathers were brought, who enriched the country by their toils, and fought, bled and died in its defence, and left us in its possession—and here we will live and die? (Cheers.)

The removal of these colored persons has, however, been justified this day by our friend, the descendant of Abraham, on the ground that they are sent as missionaries to a land of heathen darkness, that they may spread the light and sanctity of our divine Christianity. But is it the fact that the Colonization Society is in the habit of transporting missionaries by ship loads to Africa? A letter from J. MECHLIN, Esq., Governor of Liberia, to the Rev. R. R. GURLEY, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, will illustrate this part of the subject. I extract it from No. 94 of the *African Repository*, vol. 8, for Dec. 1832. The letter is dated LIBERIA, Sept. 1832.

'With respect to the character of the people composing this expedition, I regret to be compelled to state, that they are, with the exception of those from Washington, the family of Pages and a few others, the lowest and most abandoned of their class. From such materials it is vain to expect that an industrious, intelligent and enterprising community can possibly be formed; the thing is utterly impossible, and they cannot but retard instead of advancing the prosperity of the colony. I have noticed this subject in one of my former communications, and nothing but a thorough conviction that such an influx of rascals cannot fail of blasting the hopes which our friends have so long and so ardently cherished, could have induced me again to advert to it.

I am induced to be thus unreserved in my remarks, as it is from the sufferings of people of this stamp, occasioned by their own indolence and stupidity, that the slanderous reports published in the *Liberator* have originated; they have never, when in the United States, voluntarily labored for their own support, and now, when the stimulus of the overseer's lash is removed, cannot be induced to exert themselves sufficiently to procure even a scanty subsistence. Indeed, so far from there being any real grounds for the assertions of our enemies, I am at this moment issuing rations to at least one hundred persons, whose six months have expired. Some of these have been prevented by sickness from attending to their farms; the crops of others are not sufficiently advanced to afford them a subsistence; but by far the greater number are women and children, who have been sent out without any male person to provide for them; and, being un-

able to gain a livelihood by tilling the soil or any other occupation, have become a burden to the Agency. Many in the present expedition are similarly circumstanced, and what to do with them I know not. Our respectable colonists themselves are becoming alarmed at the great number of ignorant and abandoned characters that have arrived within the last twelve months; and almost daily representations are made by those who have applied themselves to the cultivation of the soil, of the DEPREDEATIONS committed on their crops by the above described class of people, who cannot be induced to labor for their own support.

Now, Sir, much has been said, both here and elsewhere, of the vast number of intelligent, enterprising and religious persons of color willing to go to Liberia; and it has, with equal confidence, been asserted that funds only were wanting to enable the managers of the American Colonization Society to make a selection of persons fully qualified to enter, with every prospect of success, upon the great work of civilizing and evangelizing Africa. It appears that during the years 1831 and 1832, efforts were made to ship off a more than ordinary number of emigrants, and that the object was accomplished. But, Sir, were the persons so sent, such as have been all along described as *willing to go*? Do they answer the description this day given of these missionary colonists, who are to prove such a blessing to Africa? No. The Governor describes them as '*the lowest and most abandoned of their class*'—an '*influx of rascals*'—'*infatigable and stupid*'—'*the greater number women and children, without any male person to provide for them*.' He declares that '*the colonists are alarmed at the great number of ignorant and abandoned characters that have arrived within the last twelve months*'—and speaks of '*daily depredations*' committed by such persons upon the crops of the industrious. Now, Sir, what is the plain inference from these authoritative statements? It is one of the following—either that there is no large portion of intelligent and religious persons of color to go, and that therefore the representations given upon that subject are false—or that the managers and auxiliaries of this Society cannot discriminate between the good and the bad; between those who are likely to '*retard the interests of the Colony*,' and those who are qualified to '*advance them*'—or, that they have wickedly and wilfully poured upon the infant colony a flood of moral corruption, threatening its very existence, as an industrious and well conducted settlement. I leave the defenders of the Colonization scheme to choose between these natural and necessary conclusions from the accounts of their Governor, and their own authorized statements. (Loud cheers.) Again, Sir; the Editor of the African Repository, in introducing Governor Mechlin's letter, observes respecting the expedition by the American:—'*We regret to learn that, in the opinion of the colonial agent, they are little qualified to add to the strength and character of the Colony*;' 'but,' he adds,

'those who are now to embark are among the best of our colored population.' Now, Sir, admitting that the next ship-load be of this description, I contend that both in principle and policy, such a line of conduct is bad. If they really be among '*the best of the colored population*,' why are they by oppression and unjust treatment made willing to go? Why are they not encouraged and made happy on their native soil? As a course of policy, such a proceeding is monstrous. Why send the salt away? Is it because they desire to keep an unmingled mass of putridity at home? Cannot these '*best*' portions of their colored population be beneficially employed at home? Ought they not to be employed? But the language of their actions is this—'*We seek not the elevation of the blacks at home. We care not a rush for the improvement of our two millions of slaves amongst us—we rather wish that they should remain wretched and debased, that we may the more securely rivet upon them the chain of a soul-degrading, man dishonoring, God defying despotism. Shew us an illuminated negro, and away he goes to Liberia!*'—Shew us the sublime and noble sight of a black man struggling into political existence, and away he goes to bless Liberia. Shew us the spectacle of one who look around upon his colored brethren in bonds, with a burning desire to be their liberator, and away with him to the regions of Liberia! This is not the land for illuminated minds, *unless they tenant white bodies*. This is not the land for struggles in the cause of liberty, *unless it be liberty for the whites*. This is not the land for burning desires, and pantings after deeds of deathless fame, *unless felt and performed by white skinned men*. Away with all such colored men to Africa! *There* let them burn, and shine, and struggle, and contend; for here they shall have no abiding city. We will cast into their cup the bitterness of scorn and persecution, and calumny and reproach, until nature recoils at the gally draught, and they cry in the anguish of their spirits—'*We are willing to go to Liberia!*'"

The Colonization Society of America has been described, by its Agent in this country, as an *abolition* Society, and the people of America have been described as generally friendly to the extinction of slavery. Let us see how far they prove the Agent's assertions. Do their documents confirm such a statement? No! They utterly deny its truth, and declare that slave property is held by a Colonizationist to be as sacred as any other description of property. Do they show their hatred of slavery by countenancing the New-England Anti-Slavery Society? Do they encourage and speak well of its managers and agents? No! They are striving, by every possible engine which malice can devise, to crush that Society, because it proceeds upon the Christian principle, that we should do unto others as we would they should do unto us.

Again: the Colonizationists wish to exempt themselves from the charge of having an unchristian prejudice against color, whilst they justify their proceedings, by asserting the existence of such a prejudice to a very wide extent. Let us see how far they are consistent. For ask them, if this same prejudice cannot be conquered, and they tell you, 'No—it possesses nineteen-twentieths of the inhabitants.' You ask them, who are the friends of the Colonization Society? and they tell you, 'Nineteen-twentieths of the inhabitants.' (Cheers.) I leave their friend here to extricate them from the charge of being themselves the fomenters of that diabolical prejudice in which has originated, and by which is perpetuated, the degradation of the colored population. (Loud cheers.)

Permit me, Sir, briefly to refer to a portion of a very eloquent speech delivered by the Rev. Mr. HAMMET, at the American Colonization Society's 16th annual meeting; a quotation which I think will throw considerable light upon the views of the principal supporters of that Society. Mark what he says of the prejudice which exists, and of the consequent condition of the people of color!

'The evil which this Society proposes to remedy has already spread to a fearful extent, and is becoming more and more alarming every day. That class of the community to whom it affords succor, though nominally free, can in fact never be so in this country. A gloom hangs over them through which they can never hope to penetrate, and they groan under a weight of prejudice, from which they can never expect to rise.'

Indeed, Mr. Hammet! We thank you for your honest truth. 'Nominally free.'—Must not 'expect' or 'hope to rise.'—Base, hypocritical, republican America, to trample on your boasted Declaration of Independence, and wrap in impenetrable gloom the spirit of the man you have declared to be equally entitled with yourself to liberty and the pursuit of happiness! Speaking of the patronage the Society enjoys, he says:

'In almost every State of this Union, the great body of the people are awakening to a sense of the vast importance of this undertaking.' &c. &c.—and, Sir, the whole religious community of this widely extended republic have declared it worthy their confidence, and have resolved, in their solemn assemblies, to give it their support.'

Had I been present, I would have asked this Rev. Colonizationist, whether the whole religious community might not be better employed in praying to be divested of their prejudice, and in seeking to uproot it from American society? I would have asked him, if he had not himself proved that the 'gloom,' and 'weight,' and 'prejudice,' and 'nominal freedom,' under all of which the people of color groan and despair, were attributable to the whole religious community, thus found patronizing the Colonization Society? He further says:—'*No individual effort, no system of legislation, can in this country redeem them from*

this condition, nor raise them to the level of the white man. It is utterly vain to expect it,' &c.

Again—'AT HOME AMONGST US, scarcely to be controlled by law, or elevated by religion.' (!!!) Monstrous assertion! and impudent as monstrous! and impious as it is impudent! How could the speaker utter a sentiment so disgraceful to his country, and so libellous upon his faith, without a burning cheek and a faltering tongue? 'At home amongst us.'—Do not those words brand, as hypocritical and base, all the professions of piety and philanthropy made by the persecuting members of the Colonization Society? Not only do they confess their own determination to cherish this hellish feeling—not only do they deny the power of legislation to help these people, but actually deny the power of religion to fit them for the privileges of freedom. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ABRAHAM.—I deny that it is beyond the power of religion to do it.

Mr. THOMPSON.—Sir, you do well to acquit yourself of any participation in this blasphemous calumny; but remember that Mr. Hammet said so in defence of the Colonization Society; therefore strike him off the list of your friends. (Cheers.) And know, also, that the sentiment was uttered with applause in a very large and crowded meeting of the friends of the Society; therefore strike them off your list of friends. (Cheers.) And know, still further, that 20,000 copies of this speech have been circulated by that Society, and still remains uncontradicted by any friend of the Society but yourself; therefore free yourself at once from the unholy confederacy, and enrol your name amongst the friends of universal liberty. (Loud cheers.) But although Mr. Hammet denies that they can rise in their native country, he maintains that it is only necessary that they should be sent to Africa, to become every thing that is noble and useful. Aladdin's lamp has been spoken of to-day; but, in my opinion, the change effected upon the characters of these colored people, by a voyage to Africa, is even more wonderful than the exploits of this Hero of Arabian romance. Nothing is necessary but that these 'pests of society,' these 'nuisances,' should be placed on board a Colonization packet, and, '*presto!*' they become artisans, statesmen, philosophers and christians. (Loud applause.)

'Transported to Africa,' says the Rev. Mr. Hammet, 'we there behold a class of beings who, at home amongst us, could scarcely be controlled by law or elevated by religion, suddenly springing into honorable notice; cultivating among themselves all the arts of civilized life, and securing to their families all the blessings of well ordered society. Every day's intelligence only reiterates what we have heard from the beginning—that peace, harmony and contentment are abounding.'

Then all the elements of civilization, all the elements of harmony, all the elements of con-

tinent, every thing that lifts man from a state of degradation, must be shipped off from America; for there these elements are at war with peace and contentment, and produce wretchedness; and the native intellectual greatness which raises the man in Liberia, sinks him to the condition of a brute in the first republic of the world. (Loud applause.)

'Schools are established,' continues the Rev. Gentleman, (but are there none in America!) 'churches are erected, the mechanic arts are cultivated, agriculture is promoted, and commerce even with foreign nations has already been embarked in; and by whom, Sir? By a class of beings who, while here, hang as a dead weight upon the skirts of the country. Sir, with the sublimity and grandeur of the spectacle and prospect before us, calculation itself can hardly keep pace.' (Laughter and cheers.)

If ever there was a piece of self contradiction, it is this extract;—if ever there was a man who belied religion, who belied human nature, who made transcendent capabilities a reason for banishing men from their native land, Mr. Hammet has been guilty of it in the passage I have read. (Cheers.) But can these free people of color be elevated by religion? At Liberia, the Rev. gentleman adds, 'the Christian, too, has much to animate his hopes and stimulate his zeal.' In America, they contend that religion has not this elevating power; but here in Liberia, 'the Christian has much to animate his hopes and stimulate his zeal.' An immense field, 'already white to the harvest,' opens before him. The missionary of the cross shall enter there, bearing to perishing thousands the 'Bread of Life.' O, what cant and hypocrisy is this! What an insult to the religion that he was lauding! He was obliged to contend, at one moment, that it could not help the black man among his white, christianized, high professing brethren of America; but in the wilds of Africa, amidst beasts and savages, it could make him a man, a philosopher, and a Christian. (Loud cheers.)

'Africa will receive him; churches will be reared; presses will be established; the scriptures shall be circulated; and the darkness of ages, retiring like the shades of night at the approach of the morning sun, shall be finally scattered by the effulgent blaze of divine truth. Yes, Sir,' (thus ends his speech,) 'superstition shall be broken down, false philosophy shall be confounded, heathen oracles shall be struck dumb. "The altar and the gold shall sink together to the dust"—and Africa shall come forth, "redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled."'

Yes, and when Africa shall thus arise in might and majesty; when Christianity shall have made her all that is noble; even then she shall say, 'The prejudice that sent forth the missionaries to our country was cruel, anti-christian, inhuman and diabolical.' (Loud cheers.)

What are you called for together to-day? To countenance WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, the dauntless, the talented, the uncompromising, the pledged, the devoted friend of the

free persons of color and of slaves in the United States. Let others, with their narrow views, frown in the cruelty of their scorn upon a meeting like this; but be it yours to welcome, from the regions of America, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, who is fighting the same battle as yourselves. Be it yours to cheer his heart; be it yours to countenance his efforts; be it yours to send him back fortified with your blessings and your prayers; be it yours to hold up his hand amidst these convicted flesh-mongers and kidnappers of their species. (Cheers.)

MR. GARRISON has happily succeeded in establishing, with no small pains, with no small sacrifice, an Anti-Slavery Society in the city of Boston. What are the motives of the Society he has established? My resolution comes to these, and therefore I shall take the liberty of troubling you with them. The whole affair is almost new to a British audience, and therefore I will just lay before you, in two or three sentences, the motives of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, as avowed in their First Annual Report.

Their motives 'are not motives of hostility to the interests or persons of slave-owners.' Then they go on to say that their desire is to do good to the slave-owner as well as the black; whilst they expose the injustice of one man holding property in another. Their motives, in the second place, are not those of a party character: they are associated together 'to maintain, not to destroy the Union, by endeavoring to remove the cause of division.' Their motive, in the third place, is 'to tolerate no compromise of principle.' There is no truckling to a narrow-sighted expediency; no attempt to empty the ocean, by putting into it the buckets of Colonization philanthropy. Their 'demands upon the holders of slaves are as imperative as those of the book of inspiration: to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free.' (Cheers.) 'The purposes of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, as declared in the second article of its Constitution, are to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery, to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.'

Then, Sir, in another part of this document, (the First Annual Report of the Society,) they go on to say what they mean by immediate abolition. 'It means, in the first place, that all title of property in the slaves shall instantly cease, because their Creator has never relinquished his claim of ownership, and because none have a right to sell their own bodies or buy those of their own species as cattle.

'It means, secondly, that every husband shall have his own wife, and every wife her

own husband, both being united in wedlock according to its proper forms, and placed under the protection of law.

'It means, thirdly, that parents shall have the control and government of their own children, and that the children shall belong to their parents.

'It means, fourthly, that all trade in human beings shall be regarded as felony, and entitled to the highest punishment.

'It means, fifthly, that the tremendous power which is now vested in every slaveholder to punish his slaves without trial, and to a savage extent, shall be at once taken away.

'It means, sixthly, that all those laws which now prohibit the instruction of the slaves, shall instantly be repealed, and others enacted, providing schools and instruction for their intellectual illumination.

'It means, seventhly, that the planters shall employ their slaves as free laborers, and pay them just wages.

'It means, eighthly, that the slaves, instead of being forced to labor for the exclusive benefit of others by cruel drivers, and the application of the lash upon their bodies, shall be encouraged to toil for the mutual profit of themselves and their employers, by the infusion of new motives into their hearts, growing out of their recognition and reward as men.

'It means, finally, that right shall take the supremacy over wrong, principle over brute force, humanity over cruelty, honesty over theft, purity over lust, honor over baseness, love over hatred, and religion over heathenism.'

Then the benefits are stated, which would result from the adoption of this righteous procedure.

Having thus endeavored to show the wickedness, the absurdity of the Colonization Society; having in the second place endeavored, though feebly, to do justice to the motives and the conduct of Mr. GARRISON; having laid before you the principles of the Society which he has had the honor to found; I have now to move a resolution, which will claim your sympathy on behalf of this gentleman, and which will go to foster and cherish the Society with which he is connected. The resolution is as follows:

Resolved, That the colored people of the United States, fully aware that the object of the American Colonization Society is not their improvement and happiness, have declared their detestation of it in the most solemn and public manner;—that that oppressed people have our heart-felt sympathy;—and that the principles and efforts of their advocates, the Anti-Slavery Society of New-England, have our cordial approbation.

I trust that this resolution will pass unanimously. I know that all opposition will be fruitless and contemptible. I know that it will but elicit your disgust—though disgust is sometimes more acceptable to certain persons than no notice at all; but, at all events, I know that I shall have a large majority in

favor of the resolution. If there be any one present who does not approve of it, let him move an amendment. (Long continued cheering.)

J. S. BUCKINGHAM, Esq. said—Before the question is put to the vote, I have permission from the Chairman to offer an explanation. No one is more impressed than I am with the zeal, and sincerity, and valuable labors of Mr. THOMPSON, as it respects the abolition of slavery. We have been co-workers together in that great cause. But advertng to the meeting to form a Colonization Society, the other day, he asserted that the object was to transport the people of color from America; evidently intending by that to remove them against their will. I said, 'No'—upon which he remarked that there was the subtlety—that it was not stated, but intended. I ask you upon what ground 'e has a right to impute motives to others? He has been too frequently, I grieve to say, the subject of false imputations. We have both suffered by the imputation to us of motives that we never entertained, and persons have been facetious at our expense. But this is too grave, too important, too high an object to be either false or facetious upon. If I believed it was any part of the motives of the British Colonization Society to transport individuals against their will, as I said before, so I say now, I would not be a party to it. Have we not the firm and conscientious belief of Mr. CLARKSON, that the American Colonization Society has done good, is doing good, and will do still more good? It is also conceived that it has never broken its engagements to this day—never having sent a manumitted slave from America to Liberia without his consent (!) It may be right or it may be wrong; we are all human, and consequently fallible, but I must protest against the imputation of dishonest motives.

Mr. HUNT.—As I was so personally alluded to by the mover of this resolution, I trust I may be allowed to say one word in reply. He attributed motives to me. He called upon the assembly to judge by what I said, but not by my actions. He stated, that although I professed to be the enemy of slavery, yet by my conduct I proved myself its best friend. (Cries of 'No,' and hisses.) It amounted to that, if those were not his words. (Renewed cries of 'No,' and hisses.) I can only say that I have never refused to raise my voice against slavery in every shape, and in every country where it may have prevailed. But I will say one thing to him in reply; I may have been in error, and judged improperly; but in answer to his personal allusion I will say, that I never did come forward in any assembly, and do what he has done—advocate the cause of humanity because I was paid for it.—(Hisses.)

Mr. THOMPSON.—I assure the honorable

member for Sheffield, that I did not attempt to impute the motive to him of being a party to the transportation of persons against their will. But I can show that the American Colonization Society does hold force necessary, and that they will never be able to induce persons to go without force. If they will not go, then they will give them, as the doctors say, *quantum suf.*; and *quantum suf.* will soon make them cry out. (A laugh and cheers.) I scorn to reply to Mr. Hunt, further than by saying, that men have their notions of what is pay, and what is not pay. I shall be paid by the blessings of the negro, and he (Mr. Hunt) may be paid by the applauses of those whom he gets to adopt his sentiments. Let Mr. CROPPER say, whether I have ever taken anything that I did not render back ten fold. (Loud applause.) Ask the Anti-Slavery Society if I have ever stipulated for a farthing. I never did. (Cheers.) Now I call upon the honorable gentleman to take the charge home, that he has brought here, and to learn, in the seclusion of his solitude, that he is paid for every thing he does, in one way or another. If a man lives by his labor, and he labors honorably; if the cause be good, and if he be sincere in it; so far from his being dishonored by engaging in it, he stands high in his integrity—and the cause itself does not call upon the laborer to work without his hire.— (Loud applause.)

WILLIAM HUME, Esq. (of Dublin,) said—At this late hour, I shall best discharge the duty assigned to me, by simply seconding the resolution that has been proposed—more particularly because I am sure, after the able exposure of the Colonization humbug, by my talented countryman, (Mr. O'Connell,) that, in despite of the indirect support of the honorable ex-member for Preston, (a laugh,) it will be *Hunt*-ed in disgrace out of England, and that we shall hear no more of Mr. Cresson *robbing the British public*, by carrying thousands of pounds away to uphold the scheme. (Cheers.)

A GENTLEMAN, whose name we did not learn, rose and said—I beg leave to say that, as a stranger in this great city, I was induced from public placards to attend the meeting, with the view of holding up my hand in support of that liberty which has been so long withheld both from the black man and from the white. Some things which I have heard have exceedingly delighted me, but others, I must say, have induced great pain; and before I leave, I wish to state what the latter are. Perhaps a false impression has been produced on my mind; but, as an ardent friend to the cause, I feel it painful to separate with a feeling that might in any degree lessen it in my esteem. The first gentleman who addressed you was an American; and whatever I might think of the statement made by the honorable member for Dublin, (Mr. O'Connell,

I hold it to be disgraceful for a man, when he is away from his native country, to abuse the land of his birth; (1) and let me tell you that I take such conduct as no compliment to myself. Whether America has acted right or wrong, I will give no opinion; though, if I were to do so, I should be inclined to say that *she is worthy of every epithet applied to her.*

I rose to second the motion made by the late honorable member for Preston, (Mr. Hunt,) and I did it in the spirit of sincerity; for the subject to which it related is one I have had much at heart, and which for many years I have been advocating, while at the same time you also have had my assistance. It was Mr. HUNT who, in Parliament, seconded the motion which brought the subject under the consideration of that House; and he having been the first to advocate that cause, I conceived that I was laid under an obligation of gratitude to second his motion. I have but one desire on the question of slavery, and that is, that immediate emancipation should take place; but I think no cause can be successfully advocated when personal attacks are permitted to be made.

The CHAIRMAN then put Mr. THOMPSON'S resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Capt. G. PILKINGTON rose to move the next resolution:

Resolved, 'That the improvement of the condition of the people of color as a body in the United States, whether bond or free, is no part of the object of the American Colonization Society; that it has never used any means for the removal of the infamous laws which exist against this unfortunate class, but, on the contrary, powerfully supports the unchristian prejudice against color, and discourages manumission except on condition of exile.

You will perceive that the removal of the free persons of color really amounts to exile. Every door is barred against their obtaining the rights and privileges, together with the comfort and happiness, to which they are entitled, *except that which leads to Liberia*; and feeling this to be the case, I most cordially move the resolution.

J. C. EVANS, Esq. spoke as follows:

If you will allow me, I will make one remark upon an observation which fell from a very respected member of Parliament, (Mr. BUCKINGHAM,) sitting at my right hand. He stated

(1) To the charge brought against me by this person, I scorned to reply. Nobody at the meeting knew any thing more about him than this—that he came as a fool and backer of the worthless HUNT. By his confession, in reference to my exposure of the atrocities of American slavery, 'let me tell you that I take such conduct as no compliment to myself,' it seems probable that he was the southern man-thief, ('sailing under false colors,' however,) who wrote home to Virginia a passionate and calumnious account of the Exeter Hall meeting, which was widely circulated by the newspapers before my arrival home. Not only was his insignificance his protection on that occasion, but his precious acknowledgement that 'America was worthy of every epithet applied to her,' rendered it unnecessary for me to say one word in reply.

that the free blacks in the United States of America are not compelled to go to Liberia. I beg to dissent from that sentiment. I think that a man may be compelled to leave his country in two ways: he may be driven by a cart whip, as it has been described by one gentleman, or he may be taken by force, by telling him that in Africa there is a sort of earthly paradise, where he will enjoy comforts which he has not in England or America.

Again, it has been said, that America is not the native country of the man of color, but that Africa is. Why, we have all descended, I suppose, from the ancient Gauls and Saxons; but still I imagine we conceive England is our native country, (cheers)—and I apprehend we have no particular desire to go to France or Germany. The country where a man was born, and where a man has lived all his life, is his native country; and the holding out of delusive expectations, as it regards Liberia, I contend, is compelling a man by force to leave his native country, and go to a foreign shore. The advocate of the American Colonization Society has said, (and I am very glad that the meeting listened to the worthy gentleman, for I think it would have been a disgrace if we had condemned the Society without hearing any one speak in its defence,) that in the city of Boston eleven years ago, there was not one school for the education of blacks, but that now an act of the Legislature (!) has been passed to levy taxes for the support of a school of that description. But the gentleman did not tell us that Boston is one of those cities where there are no slaves (hear, hear!)—it is in a free State—in the very State from which the gentleman came whom Mr. O'CONNELL shook by the hand, as if he considered him the only honest man that could have come from America. Can the worthy gentleman (Mr. ABRAHAM,) tell us that in the slave States—in Georgia, Kentucky, or Maryland, for instance—laws have been passed for the education of slaves, or free men of color? Certainly not; but, on the contrary, we know that they have often passed laws to punish those who have dared to teach the negro.

He has rested his strong argument, in defence of the American Colonization Society, upon the ground that Liberia will be able to produce an immense crop of cotton, which, he says, will drive the American slave-owners out of their own market. Does this advocate of the Society want to ruin the American slave masters? or is it likely that the slave masters themselves would advocate the cause of an institution, which is likely, by the produce which it raises in a foreign country, to drive them from their own?

Another position which the worthy gentleman has taken up is this: he will not believe any thing bad against the parties, because they are all Christians; and yet, in the face of this, he allows that these Christians, these enlight-

ened Christians of the United States, have in their country TWO MILLIONS TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND SLAVES, whom they are depriving of all their natural rights, and keeping in a state of unutterable ignorance and misery! (Cheers.) Yet, he says, they are CHRISTIANS, and he will not impugn their motives!! I will say, in language with which, I doubt not, you are all familiar, '*by their fruits shall ye know them*;' and from the accursed fruits which slavery brings forth, I can have no doubt or hesitation, as to the nature of the tree. It is not for me to trouble myself much about the motives of a man, but I can see clearly what are *their* motives.

I will not detain the meeting long; but I cannot let this opportunity pass, without making a reference to Mr. O'CONNELL. The first time I ever heard there were slaves in the United States was from a speech made by him: that gentleman was one of the first persons in the sister country, who stood up on a public platform, and denounced America as being a base hypocrite. At a public meeting held in Cork, he stood up, and in a speech of unrivalled eloquence, he said that he branded her star-spangled banner with the mark of infamy. (Cheers.) I cannot but render him my thanks for his exertions on that occasion, in throwing aside the veil that seems to have hidden the moral depravity of America from the civilized world.

He made an apology for her, however, by alluding to our West India slavery. Why, he asked, was it that America had two millions of slaves. Because England, her mother, had eight hundred thousand. The system, he said, never could be destroyed till England had put an end to it in the West Indies. If England should give up her own prey, then believe him that the English lion shall soon start forth, and every tyrant, however much he may wish to claim that prey upon which he has been so long feeding, must drop it growlingly. (Laughter and loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN, in submitting the resolution to the adoption of the meeting, said he could not give a better authority for the statement it contained, than the second article of the Constitution of the American Colonization Society, adopted at its first meeting, and which had been ratified anew at their last meeting—as follows:

Resolved. That the true and single object of the Society is that which is expressed in its original Constitution, viz.—'To promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their consent, the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient;' and that this object will be hereafter, as it has been heretofore, steadily adhered to.

With these remarks, I think the meeting will be satisfied to pass the resolution; and I therefore put it.

The motion was then put, and carried unanimously.

SPARKS MOULD (a venerable and highly respectable member of the Society of Friends) moved the fourth resolution, which, he said, he felt in his own breast to be the truth, and the whole truth:

Resolved, That the declaration that the object of the American Colonization Society is the abolition of slavery, is a gross deception; and that the people of England, who, under such a supposition, have contributed to its funds, have done so under mistaken views.

The Rev. Mr. SCOBELL, in seconding the motion, said—It would be remembered that Mr. O'CONNELL called the attention of the meeting to a passage from the 'African Repository.' He (Mr. S.) could also refer to a great number of statements made by that organ. Amongst others, he would take the liberty of reading the following:

'We hold their slaves, as we hold their other property, SACRED.'

'To the slaveholder, who had charged upon them the wicked design of interfering with the rights of property under the specious pretext of removing a vicious and dangerous free population, they address themselves in a tone of conciliation and sympathy. We know your rights, say they, and we respect them.'

'The removal of every single free black in America, would be productive of nothing but safety to the slaveholder.'

'The tendency of the scheme, and one of its objects, is to secure slaveholders, and the whole southern country, against certain evil consequences, growing out of the present threefold mixture of our population.'

'The Colonization Society, as such, have renounced wholly the name and the characteristics of abolitionists. On this point they have been unjustly and injuriously slandered. Into their accounts the subject of emancipation does not enter at all.'

'From its origin, and throughout the whole period of its existence, it has constantly disclaimed all intention whatever of interfering, in the smallest degree, with the rights of property, or the object of emancipation, gradual or immediate.'

'It is not the object of this Society to liberate slaves, or touch the rights of property.'

'The emancipation of slaves or the amelioration of their condition, with the moral, intellectual, and political improvement of people of color within the United States, are subjects foreign to the powers of this Society.'

'Recognising the constitutional and legitimate existence of slavery, it seeks not to interfere, either directly or indirectly, with the rights which it creates.'

'What but sorrow can we feel at the *misguided piety* which has set free so many of them by death-bed devise or sudden conviction of injustice? Better, far better, for us, had they been kept in bondage, where the opportunity, the inducements, the necessity of vice would not have been so great.'

'It is a well-established point, that the public safety forbids either the emancipation or the general instruction of the slaves.'

'The managers could, with no propriety, depart from their original and avowed purpose, and make emancipation their object. And they would further say, that if they were not thus restrained by the terms of their association, they would still consider any attempts to promote the increase of the free colored population by manumission, unnecessary, premature and dangerous.'

Upon such a startling developement of the principles and designs of the Colonization Society, Mr. SCOBELL said it was wholly unnecessary for him to make any comment before a British audience.

The CHAIRMAN rose and said—I think the meeting has now had sufficient evidence of the truth of what is declared in this resolution. The Colonization Society has been guilty of the greatest deception, and the people of England, who have contributed to its funds, have done so under mistaken views.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM then stood forward and said—I beg to add my concurrence in the truth of the resolution, and to state that, though I entertain the strongest belief that a British Colonization Society, founded on different principles from that established in America, and not contributing one sixpence to its aid, would be of great benefit; yet I must avow there was a period when I believed that the object of the American Colonization Society was the emancipation of the slaves. An examination, however, of all the documents, has shown me that it never was a part of its object; on the contrary, that its object was to colonize the free blacks in Africa, and render slavery in the United States more secure by their removal; and, therefore, that every person who has contributed a shilling towards the American Colonization Society, from the belief that it would lead to emancipation, has acted under a delusion. (Hear, hear!) I discovered it soon enough to save my mite, but I shall think it my duty to do all I can by writing, speaking and printing, and every other method, to undeceive those who have fallen into the same error as myself:—so that I stand here acquitted.

The motion was then put, and agreed to.

Mr. THOMPSON proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN, in acknowledging the compliment, said—I am very much obliged to the meeting for their approbation of any services that I have rendered. There is one remark that I should like to make, not only with respect to Mr. THOMPSON, but to others who may receive some remuneration for their services—a remuneration which is very trifling, compared with the merits of their labor in this benevolent cause. Now, if I had had the talents of Mr. THOMPSON, I should not have dared to stop at home—I must have gone about the country, advocating the cause; but I had not, nor would my health permit it. But I have some spare money, and he has talent—and why should we not put the two together? (Loud applause.)

The meeting then separated. It is estimated that about two thousand persons were present, whose attention for more than five hours was unbroken.

Conway, North Wales, July 14, 1833.

My Dear Sir,—Our friend, Mr. Cropper, will have informed you of the impossibility of my complying with your request, of sending you an explanation of the causes of my absence from your meeting yesterday. I certainly would not willingly have been absent; for it was my desire to take every fair opportunity of testifying my utter and increasing disapprobation of the principles professed, on the subject of negro slavery, by the American Colonization Society. I can have no objection, indeed, to the plan of colonizing in Africa, with a view to its civilization, and to the extension of Christianity in that deeply injured quarter of the globe. On the contrary, I desire above all things to see such plans, conceived in the true spirit of philanthropy, multiplying on that coast. But the Colonization Society appears to me to adopt, as the basis of its schemes, not the love, but the hatred and contempt of the negro race, and to regard every one tinged with their blood as an object, not of kindness and brotherhood, but of abhorrence, and of exclusion from the common sympathies and affluities of our nature, and from that union and fellowship in that Saviour, in whom there is neither Jew nor Gentile, Barbarian nor Scythian, American nor African, black nor white, bond nor free, but we are all one in Christ Jesus.

The unchristian prejudice of color, which alone has given birth to the Colonization Society, though varnished over with other more plausible pretences, and veiled under a profession of a Christian regard for the temporal and spiritual interests of the negro, which is belied by the whole course of its reasonings, and the spirit of its measures; is so detestable in itself, that I think it ought not to be tolerated, but, on the contrary, ought to be denounced and opposed by all humane, and especially by all pious persons in this country. And it especially becomes those who have taken any active part on behalf of the negro race, whether in this country or in the United States, to keep aloof from all co-operation with a body whose evident purpose is adverse not only to the liberty of the enslaved negro, but to the moral and political elevation of the free negro.

I beg to express my sense of the eminent services you have rendered to the cause of humanity, by your able and persevering exposure of the evil tendency of the principles on which the Colonization Society acts, and trust that your exertions will be crowned with success.

I remain, my dear sir,

Yours, very faithfully,

ZACHARY MACAULAY.

William Lloyd Garrison, Esq.

Paradise Row, Stoke Newington,
15th of 7th month, 1833.

Esteemed Friend, William Lloyd Garrison.—When I first heard of the formation of the colony at Liberia, I rejoiced at the intelligence, not doubting but that it was projected and planned by the friends of Africa. My feelings congenial with my own; that its object was to promote the civilization of the inhabitants of

that vast continent, and make some reparation for the enormous wrongs they had for so many ages endured. This must be the excuse of many in this country, and perhaps in North America also, who have countenanced or patronized the American Colonization Society. I have repeatedly told Elliott Cresson that, so far from being an enemy to this American Colony, I should be glad to see twenty more of them established, so that a more extended line of coast might be protected against the slave traders. But having heard thy exposition of the origin and main object of the American Colonization Society, at the meeting on the 13th instant, at Exeter Hall, and having read their own printed documents, I scarcely know how adequately to express my surprise and indignation—surprise, that my correspondents in North America should not have informed me of the real principles of the said Society; and also, that Elliott Cresson, knowing, as he must have known, the abominable sentiments it had printed and published, should have condescended to become its agent. My indignation is roused when I find it asserted in one of their publications, that the free people of color constitute a class, 'out of which no individual can be elevated, and below which none can be depressed.' Again,—'We have endeavored, but endeavored in vain, to restore them either to self-respect, or to the respect of others. It is not our fault that we have failed—it is not theirs. It has resulted from a cause over which neither we nor they can ever have any control. Here, therefore, they must be forever debased; more than this, they must be forever useless; more even than this, they must be forever a nuisance, from which it were a blessing for society to be rid.' Again,—'Is it not wise, then, for the free people of color and their friends to admit, what cannot reasonably be doubted, that the people of color must, in this country, remain for ages, probably forever, a separate and inferior caste, weighed down by causes, powerful, universal, inevitable, which neither legislation nor Christianity can remove?' If it be said that these are quotations from the *African Repository*. I understand that this is the ground maintained by the American Colonization Society. This being the case, I cannot but feel indignant that the benevolence of Great Britain and Ireland should have been so imposed upon, to the amount of the subscriptions obtained under the circumstances stated; and I do hope that an account will be called for of the sums subscribed, and of their application.

I rejoice that you have formed an Anti-Slavery Society in New-England, and shall be glad to hear that it goes on with increasing success. Can you not find some noble spirited landholders, in your parts, (who have capital also,) to set an example of what may be done for the colored free people, by placing them down upon land, and showing them how to cultivate it on the spade or garden plan? I have to request thy acceptance of two pamphlets, in which these plans are detailed. The capital employed in this way might be made to return with ample interest.

I remain, with great regard,

Thy sincere friend,

WM. ALLEN.